



R. White sculp.

The Illustrious GEORGE MONCK
Duke of ALBEMARLE & Captaine
Generall of all his Majesties Land-forces.
etc.



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THE
MYSTERY
AND
METHOD

Of His Majesty's
HAPPY RESTAURATION,
Laid open to
PUBLICK VIEW.

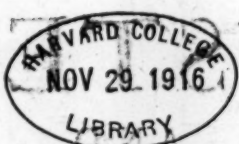
*By John Price D. D. one of the late Duke of
Albemarl's Chaplains, and Privy to all the
Secret Passages, and Particularities of that
Glorious Revolution.*

L O N D O N :

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THE



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MYSTERY

OF THE

HAPPY RESTAURANT

Laid open to

PUBLICK VIEW

By John P. D. D. of the
Albion's Chapter, and T. J.
Scott, Esq., and T. J. Scott,
Glasgow, Scotland.

LONDON:

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To the Right Honorable *John* Earl of
Bath; Viscount *Greenvile* of *Lans-*
down; Baron *Greenvile* of *Biddisford*
and *Kelkhampton*, Knight; Groom
of the *Stole*; First Gentleman of the
Bed-Chamber; Lord Lieutenant of
the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwall*,
and one of the Lords of His Majesties
Most Honorable Privy Council, &c.

My Lord,

WHat I have here presented to your
Lordships View, I did once de-
sign to have transmitted to Posterity, in
a large Draught, and in a Freer Style;
and to have reserved it as my last Te-
stament, to the care of my Executor,
in Confidence that it would Then have
Entertainment with such as should not
be tempted, by Impulses of Prejudice,
Interest or Malevolence, to asperse the
Generous and successful Attempt of Ge-
neral Monk, towards the Restoring of our
Present Sovereign, whom God preserve

long among us: But, finding that of late his Loyalty to his Prince hath been dayly more and more questioned and traduced, his Conduct abused; nay, and that my self have been charged to my Face with the rude Imputation of Forgery upon my undertaking, occasionally, in private Discourses to Vindicate and assert His Integrity and Sincerity; (knowing so well as I did upon what Grounds he first Engag'd) And this too by such Persons, generally, as of all men in the world had the least Reason to do it: I am forced to alter my first Resolution, as not being able to answer it to the Sacred Ashes of my Deceased Lord and Patron, the with-holding of these Papers (how rude and Imperfect soever) any longer from the Publick. It might possibly be one Grain in the Scale also; the Consideration that there are none (that I know of) now Living (but your Lordship and your Servant of this Memorial) that were Privy to the Motives of the Generals First Engagement, when Sir George Booth was at the Head of some Confederates in Cheshire.

Now

Now though true it be that, that Combination took not effect: and indeed it was well for the General, nay and possibly for the King and Kingdom too that it did not; yet from the time of Lamberts turning out of Doors his Masters at Westminster, I do avouch that my Lord did all along with a direct Eye aim at the Kings Restauration. Neither is it Improbable but that this second Attempt would have miscarry'd likewise, had not the Conduct of it been in the hands of a Superior Providence: For upon the Generals open Protesting in Scotland against the English Army for disturbing the Rump; the Cavalier and Presbyterian (the then two Royal Parties) became Rampant in their hopes; though neither of them altogether forgetting their old Animosities. Wherefore the more discerning Independents fearing an approaching Ruin (adjudging it Prudent to make advantage of these Heart-burnings) began to make fresh Court to the Presbyterian; he being of a nearer Alliance, as having fought under the same Colours and pay with them-

selves against the Late King. These two great Parties comprehended in a manner the body of the English and Scottish Subjects; though both of them overaw'd, and kept under by the then Domineering Faction of the Sectaries. The former of these had been in the Field for Charles the First against his Two Houses of Parliament: whom He (by a Law of his own making) having permitted to continue There as such, whether for him or against him; it was soon found by woful experience that he had lost his Crown before a stroke was struck.

The Cavaliers (who were of the Nobility and Gentry of England, and of whom your Lordship was one) came in freely, and generously adher'd to the King, as their Sovereign. And yet (which is dolorous to remember) he lost his Life by a Mockery of Justice. This was a Piece of Villany not to be Paralled in any History: And Bishop Andrews has delivered as much in his Notes upon the Sixth Commandment, Cap. 2. In these words. Yet never any People

ple in the World (*says he*) pretended by any Colour of Legal proceedings, or shew of Mock-Justice, to touch the Life of a Prince. &c. Neither possibly could This have enter'd his Phansie, had not the fresh death of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Monumental Lines of a Prophetical Poet (to be found in Arch-Bishop Spotwood's History) suggested the Consequences to his thoughts thus : that since one Sovereign Prince had executed another equal to her self in Regalities ; the case might be, when a People would do the like to their Prince. Now the Cavaliers had not only lost their Estates, by the Fortune of war ; but even their Hopes also of ever being in a Condition to appear again, by themselves, for the Recovery of their own Losses, or the Crown of England, which fell with their Masters Head.

My Charity induces me to believe that the soberer part of the Presbyterians had been decoyed into a War, with the Inscription of Loyalty upon their Armes, and under the plausible pretence
of

of Fighting for King and Parliament. But however, they lived to repent of the Felicities of them ; for, having acted their parts too far, they were forced to yield to more subtil Enginiers of State, who had a further game to play ; Bishops Lands not being Booty enough, for so many sharers. Thus themselves suffer'd as well as acted a Reformation, and so went of the Stage.

Now though their Name was not so offensive to the then Parliament and Army, as was that of the Cavaliere ; yet they still kept an Eye equally wakefull over them both ; Especially now, upon their finding that they were neither of them capable of concealing their inward satisfaction at General Monk's Remonstrating against the Army in England. And indeed their Hopes upon this Occasion were so luxuriant, that some of them durst pray for his Success, others not only Drink His Health but the Kings too ; and that Publickly. Nay he had not Marched many days from his cold Quarters on the North of Tweede, (his March being without orders

orders too) before the sound of Belles that welcomed us into England, had filled the Ears even of his very Officers with the noise of Jealousies and Apprehensions, touching the end of his making this long Journey. And though they had learned the Duty of Soldiers not to Mutiny, no nor so much as to expostulate with him; yet it was evident that several of them deemed there was more in the Action, then did openly appear.

But though the General was able to deal well enough with these; yet could he not overcome those of his Masters at Westminster; who did not well relish this hasty March even of their Restorer. Yet they could not in gratitude refuse him and his Army the liberty of a Visit: and besides, should they by express orders remand him back to his Scottish Quarters, they could not be assured of security at home for the future, because the English Army being but newly return'd to their Duty, did not appear to be fast and well-confirmed; they fearing that Ambition, in their Officers,

ters, was rather laid a sleep, then extinguished. And indeed they did not so much as suspect General Monk to be guilty of This; his Deportment in their Service being so modest, that none of them ever thought he aimed at the Government; (whatsoever other Jealousies might be buzz'd in their Ears touching Charles Stuart) And this truly was the greatest advantage he had of them: Besides, his natural Taciturnity was such, that most of his Friends (who thought they knew him thoroughly) looked upon George Monk to have no other Craft in him, then that of a plain Soldier, who would obey the Parliaments orders, as well as see that his own were. So that had not the more subtle Smell-Plots of the Council of State (Scot their Secretary amongst the rest) divined something of Mr. Nicholas Monks Journey into Scotland the Summer before; the Generals March into England without, or rather against orders had been little suspected. But their Distrusts of him more and more encreased, the nearer he approached toward them.

And

And this he soon discovered, and was fully satisfied in upon his coming to Whitehall: For then his Authority was lessen'd by the presence of Co-General, and Impatient Hazlerig, who had much the advantage of him, as being a Member of the same Parliament, and able to vie with him in poyn't of merit; he having been their Restorer in the South at Ports-mouth, as the other was in the North at Cold-stream. Nor was Monk himself without his suspicions that he should not only lose his limb of Generalship, but be questioned for a Delinquent, rather than honored as a Restorer. So that having no Counsel left him, but sudden Action; what he was to do he did quickly, and made the Change as swift as Comedians do theirs: For in one Week's time he Court'd the Parliament and Counsel of State not with words only, but with Deeds, and such too as must render him wholly their own; Unhindg'd all the Gates of the City of London, brake some of them, pulled up their Posts and Chains; defeated all popular expectations of him

to such a Degree that I heard him re-
viled in the streets (Himself but hard
by too) to this Effect. Is This That
Monk that would bring in the King?
This is the Scottish Devil. What more
mischief thence? But Sir Arthur
Hazlerig (on the other side) sang his
Pæans, Now George (said he) we
have thee for ever, Body and Soul.
Nay our little Scottish Army it self was
astonished; and the Officers, in doing
this Drudgery, spake merry discontents
when they took up the Posts and Chains;
These are the Chains and Meddals,
(cry'd they) that the Parliament pro-
mised us, at Cold-stream. Many of
them would not act in this Tragick
Comedy, but offer'd to lay down their
Commissions; which the General would
not suffer them to do; but reprehend-
ed them in this style. What? will
you not obey the Parliaments Orders?
Insinuating, as if this odious action had
been unavoidably forc't upon him; and
indeed by the frowns and clouds in his
Face they easily perceived whereabout he
was, and readily took the Hint to Cabal
into

into new Counsel's against such Task-Masters. This now he accepted; for upon his return out of the City, a Letter was fram'd in the night, sent the next Morning from Whitehall to the Parliament, and then he immediately Marched his Army into the City; where he continued till he had let in the Secluded Members of 1648. Thus did he free himself from the Danger that threatned him for his forward Loyalty in August before; compleat his own safety, and the first step to the Kings Restauration, all at a Blow.

Although by premising these Things (my Lord) I have (designedly too) violated the Laws of Method, yet I have not forgot that I am in a Dedicatory Preface; and that my business is, to implore your Lordships Patronage.

Now so Conscious am I of your Candor and Goodness, that this Humble Request will (I perswade my self) without much difficulty be granted. For your Lordship may possibly still Remember that upon the first introducing of Mr. Nicholas Monk and my self into the Kings Presence

presence, you were pleased to assert his Zeal, and readiness to serve his Majesty, and in what instances he had done it; particularly mentioning his Journey to Scotland, (and his Negotiation with his Brother there) as being undertaken, upon your express Commands: For he was then the Parson of your own Parish of Kelkhampton in Cornwall, which is a living of about 300. l. Pounds Per Annum: And this you had freely bestow'd on him without any other Symony, then an obligation from him to serve the Publick when ever you had occasion to make use of him; you having even then an eye upon his Brother in Scotland, whom your Family had obliged likewise. Now Mr. Monk (who had not Learned the Artifice to dissemble the merits of mean Men; (it being the first hour too of his coming to Court) was so just to me, as to inform the King in your Lordships Presence, that he imparted his Message, and Communicated the concerns of so important an affair, to me his Brothers domestick Chaplain at Dalkeith; and that he found that I entertained it willingly,
and

and was careful and faithfull in it; with sundry other Eulogies which the honest plain hearted man thought fit to give of me to His Majesty. To This Relation the King gave such Credit, that, after he had vouchsafed me the Honor to Kiss His Hand, he was pleased to tell me, that by this he well understood, the service I had done him; and commanded me to make my Application to him, as oft as I desired his favor, or any Preferment. And I soon after acquainted the General with these gracious expressions of the Kings.

But though your Lordship may have forgotten this; yet (I'm sure) you can never forget how far, and to what end you were engaged, when you sent Mr. Nicholas Monk into Scotland to his Brother. And yet what has been already published as to this Particular, has not met with an universal Credence; for many Politick and some spightful Infidels there are, who will needs look upon General Monks design to Restore the King, as a Postnate-Juggle, fram'd on purpose to salve His Honor, and not to serve
a the

the ends of Truth; reflecting upon it as not fit to be received into the Annalls of History; as a Prosperous Chance, as a Deodand, not design'd to enrich this or that Particular Coast, but only by the winds and waves driven hither.

*Let God have the Glory, for the gift was only His. But if the wrath of man shall Praise him, the Loyalty of Man shall both Praise and Please him. And Loyal he was even above the Temptation of Sovereignty it self, as did after wards fully appear: Nay and so glorious was the achievement also, that there was more in it then the single Restauration of Charles the Second, even the recovery of lost Monarchy to the Royal Family it self; to whom the Diadem of Right belonged, though at that time it was left a prey to Usurpers, as they could play their Game. He Lov'd his Prince, and he lov'd his Country; and as a True English-man, judg'd them to have one and the same Interest. And thus his Actions justified his Declarations; which were, to reduce the Military Power in obedience to the Civil: The Soldiers of England having, then,
erected*

Erected a distinct Interest from the People of it ; Nor was it an easy matter to have reduced them ; had not the Army, by His most Excellent conduct, (I will rather say by a Divine) been divided, and set at odds.

It now only remains (my Lord) that I deliver this Memorial to Posterity under your Patronage: In which I purpose not to touch upon things known, and allow'd, any otherwise then barely for Method sake ; the stress of the Controversy not depending upon Them, but upon General Monks designed Loyalty to restore our Sovereign, and our Laws to us. Now because he was short sighted, and could not discern at a Distance ; it has been suggested to me (more sarcastically then wittily) as if that Imperfection had reached his understanding also, and that he could not see so far, as to the Restoring of the King.

Let others (who are as tender of the honor of the late Duke of Albemarle as I am, (and ought to be) contribute to the vindicating of his Memory from this Calumny, in what proportion, and with what
solemn-

solemnity of attestation they please, to gain Credit. As for my self, being of an Inferior rank, I do foresee that what I shall deliver will not, by a great many, easily be believed (yea I am before hand threatned that it shall not ;) whether it be upon the Score of my fidelity and secrese, in that great affair, or of the prosperous close and Issue of it in my deceased Lord, I shall not trouble my self to determine, against spite and Prejudice : But, contenting my self with the answer of a good Conscience, that I have not forged things either to greaten his Honor, and Loyalty, or to lessen it, by relating some few passages to which I was privy, or in which I acted ; (Envy having pursu'd even a Fly upon this fortunate wheel of Revolution, though not making the noise of a Qualem or Quantum pulverem) I shall presume to pray your Lordships protection of the ensuing Narrative, and of the unworthy Author of it ; who is

My Lord,
Your Lordships Obliged and
Devoted Servant

John Price,



THE
MYSTERY
 AND
METHOD
 OF HIS MAJESTY'S
Happy Restauration, &c.

AUGUST 1. 1659. Sir George Booth, (now Lord De la Mere) by compact, at his day appeared in Arms; (be it Recorded to his Eternal Honour) and sent forth a brisk Declaration manifesting the justice and necessity of them. For at that time the whole Nation groaned under the insupportable Servitude of the Tyrannical Oligarchy, sitting at Westminster
 B under

The History of

under the notion of a *Parliament*, against whom a very powerful Combination was then made. Many of those who had formerly fought under them, complained that they were deceived; nay, and diverse, even then actually in their service, were so ingenuous as to confess, that *That* could not be their *Countries Freedom*, where the worst of *Tyrannies*, (under the Name of a *Commonwealth*, and the good old Cause) were like to be perpetuated. And however the great Officers might thrive whilst they were in power; yet they saw full well, that their *Posterity* would be forced to pay back to those licentious *Usurpers* whatever their *Ancestors* had got, should the Government still rest in an *Oligarchy*, which is the corruption of the worst of Governments, (a *Democrasie*) and consequently the worst of *Tyrannies*. Thus we see that the State of *Three Kingdoms* was (then) most deplorable.

The King compassionated their condition; for himself had the greatest share in the calamity; and though his Royal Person was safe from the fury of his Enemies, yet was he so near, that by his authority he was still ready to contribute to the vindicating the just rights of his *Subjects*, and his own. To this end there were constantly residing at *London*, some Noble Persons of great Honour, and unwearyed Loyalty, (in spite of *Axes* and *Gibbets*) after they had lost the Field) who were commissioned

the Kings Restauration. 3

missioned by his Majesty, both to hold correspondence with him, and to issue forth such commands from time to time, as occasion should offer for his Majesties Service.

And the occasion was eminent, now, upon the return of that *Thing* called a *Parliament*; who had been respited from their Power by the Monarchical Interposition of their General (*Oliver Cromwel*) and his Son; and that rooby the space of about five years. This *Restitution* was mostly procured by the *Army*, who feared that a *National Interest*, like a Deluge, would have broken in upon them, had they suffered *Cromwel's Son*, and his *Mock-Parliament*, to sit longer in Authority. And the Armie's pretences being for *Commonwealth*, they had no nearer a Sanctuary to flye unto, then this *Long Parliament*, (as they called it) whose guilt they knew to be at least equal with *Theirs*, and distasted and abhorred by all that were not their own, and even by some of Them too: wherefore the *Presbyterian Party* began now at last to awaken into *Loyalty*; and chose rather to joyn with the *Cavaliers*, (as they pretended) then to see their *Country* so enslaved; and indeed the *Cavaliers* Condescensions quieted their *Jelousies*: for his Majesties Commissioners consented that the *Presbyterians* should have the chief command in all places, and that their *Declaration* should only be for a *Free Parliament*, and against publick grievances.

And now Sir *George Booth*, (*Lord De la mere*) undertook for *Cheshire*, and the Counties adjacent; Sir *Thomas Middleton*, for *North Wales*; Major General *Massy*, for *Glocester*, and *South Wales*; The Lord *Fairfax* for the *North*; The Lord *Roberts* (now Earl of *Radnor* and President of the Council) for the *West*; Colonel *Alexander Popham*, and Col. *Robert Rolles* for *Wiltshire*, *Somersetshire* and *Devonshire*; Col. *Norton* for *Portsmouth*, and *Hantsire*; and Sir *Horatio* (now Lord *Townsend*) for the associated Counties: and in like manner diverse others in all places through out *England*; solemn Protestations, and Assurances being given, that they would not fail each other.

Not long before this, Sir *John Greenville* (the now Earl of *Bath*) who was one of those Honourable Commissioners residing at *London* for his Majesties Service, had received a particular Commission to treat secretly and privately with General *Monk* in *Scotland*: The King, it seems, having these thoughts about him, that if a dexterous Application could be made to him, he might be gained to his Service, as having been in his Fathers, in which he was taken Prisoner, and his Releasement neglected: But the Parliament, having experienced his usefulness and Conduct in *Ireland* against the *Rebells* there, set him at liberty, and sent him back again thither

the Kings Restauration. 5

thither into their Service: and afterwards *Cromwel*, who knew how to value a good Soldier, took him with him into *Scotland*.

Sir John Greenville, by an expresse Messenger, with a Letter in Cipher, directed to Chancellor *Hide* at *Brussels* (with whom only, by his Majesties order, he was to correspond) Proposed the sending of *Mr Nicholas Monk* to his Brother in *Scotland*; which was allowed: The King leaving the whole management of the Business to the Secrecie and Prudence of *Sir John*, who could not be said to have declined a Journey to the General in *Scotland* for the Danger of it, for he dayly conversed with as great, as being one of his Majesties Commissioners in Town: besides that *He* and the *Monks* were Cousin Germans, and both of them obliged either by himself or his Family. However, sure I am, that he did the King and the General more Service in not coming to us; for his very Person, then, would have been suspected, tho' he had come without any Commission, or Message. So he sent for *Mr. N. Monk* out of *Cornwal*, to whom he imparted the Kings Commission to treat with his Brother.

Mr. Monk fraught with hopes and instructions; (the design of revolting from the Parliament, being now universal too; *Sir George Booth* actually in Arms against their Authority, and Insurrections from all Counties in

England dayly expected) embark'd for Scotland; with a prosperous Gale, within few days after arriving at *Leith*, and so from thence, five Miles, to *Dalkeith*, where the General resided. He gave out that the intent of this Voyage was only to fetch his Daughter *Mary*, in order to bestowing her in Marriage to her advantage; hoping that his Brother would add some weight and encouragement to it: this pretence for his Journey was real too, and so signified by Letters.

Col. *Jonathan Atkins* (afterward Knighted, and made Governor of *Barbados*) was now at *Dalkeith*, where he had been about two days before Mr. *Monk* came to his Brother, and was preparing for his journey further, to visit some Relations of his in *Fife*; having already received his answer from the General. For this Gentleman, either upon confidence of the Generals Loyalty, or of his Friendship and Interest in him, (they having been formerly *Souldiers* under the same command in *Ireland*, and I think in *Holland* also) imparted to him the Designs of the Gentlemen of the North of England, who being ready (he said) to appear in the quarrel, and assistance of Sir *George Booth*, solicited the help of his Arms, or at least, that he would not disturb them in their Levies. To whom the General smartly return'd, that if they did appear, he would send a Force to suppress them
and

the Kings Restoration. 7

and that by the duty of his Place he could do no less.

The Colonel afterwards came to my Chamber, and propounded the Business in wary Terms, yet so as to be understood. But I (unconcernedly) replied, that to me it appeared, as if the Malecontents in *England* laboured only how to ruine Themselves and their Cause: for so long as *London* was the Magazine of Arms and Men, the Country Plots, without it, could never prove very effectual for what, I supposed, he aimed at. But if that City could be engaged (as it was discontented) upon this Return of the *Parliament*, and would shut up their Gates and rise as one man; and had done so, now, whilst *Lambert* was marching against *Bomb*: the design would carry a much better prospect of success, then it did.

This Intrigue of Colonel *Aikin* (as being first in order of time) I relate before the success of Mr. *Monk*'s message to his Brother; that so it may appear what weight the King's Authority had with General *Monk*, tho' but verbally delivered by his Brother; he depending upon the Faith and Integrity of Sir *John Greenville*, and the truth of his Brother's Relation: For he might well suppose (as wary as he was) that they did not deceive, nor would betray him. And I believe he relied upon the word of a King as much as if he actually had received a Commission from his Majesty, for he told me afterwards,

B 4

that

that he was resolved to *Commission* the whole *Scotch Nation* against *Parliament* and *Army* and all, before he would be taken tamely by them: But he had no other *Authority* to do it, than this airy word of mouth, conveyed to him from *Sr. John Greenville*, who had it in Writing from the King.

Mr. Monk found his Brother engaged in Business, and in several *Dispatches* too, tho' it was in the declining part of the day; and indeed it was rare to find him otherwise: so the *General* sent him to my Chamber, under the conduct of an *Highland Foot-Boy* in the House, who proclaimed his Arrival at my Study-Door. I courteously received him, and asked how Affairs stood in *England*; for *Booth's* being in Arms, and *Lambert's* march towards him, were now the common entertainment of News. I soon perceived that he had a mind to say something to me; which he as soon disclosed: The Tenor whereof was, that he was sent to his Brother by *Sir John Greenville* to invite him in this juncture of time, to appear for his Country; telling how the design was laid, and universal in all Counties; and he did not doubt (he said) but that his Country Men in the *West* had already made an *Insurrection*: adding further, that this was not barely a *Combination*, without *Authority*, for tho' the King was not named in the *Declaration*, sent out for a *Free Parliament*, and against *Taxes* and *Grievances*

com-

the Kings Restauration.

9

complained of, (some of which *Declarations* he
ventur'd to bring with him) yet all this was
done by his Majesties Privacy and countenance:
Therefore was he sent by his Cousin *Greenvile*, to
try if he could bring over his Brother into the
King's *Service*, and, at this time, to espouse his
Cause; and that Sir *John Greenvile* hoped that
his Brother might be as successful in it, as was
the famous *Stanly*, who determined the day in
Bosworth field to *Henry* the Seventh, tho he
came thither to the succour of *Richard* the III.
These were high hopes, but that which now
puzled Mr. *Monk* was, that he knew not how to
break this Message to his Brother; but if he
would undertake so glorious a Work as the re-
storing of the King, no encouragement (he was
sure) would be awanting: he might set down
his own Conditions, and the King would (up-
on his *Royal Ward*) perform them: For he had
seen his Majesties Commission to Sir *John Green-
vile* to treat with his Brother: And indeed in
that Commission Sir *John* was left at large to
promise or assent to any conditions of reward:
But by his secret Instructions he was bound up
to the definitive Gratuity of one hundred thou-
sand pounds *per annum*, for ever, to be disposed
of at the General's discretion. So Mr. *Monk* pro-
duced to me a broken piece or two of Money
as Tokens, if need were, to be sent with Let-
ters of Correspondence to Sir *John Greenvile*,
but under the disguised name of Mr. *Legg*.

The

The Goodman spake in great Secrecy and Earnest; and seemed to press upon me, upon my Allegiance, to hearken to His Proposals, and to accept of his broken Tokens: he promising me, that whatsoever Letters should be sent to Sir John Greenville the Messenger, who brought them, and either of those Tokens, should be more than paid for his Journey.

So I perceived his Embassy was real; but it strangely surprized me: and I went often to the door of my Chamber, as being apprehensive least any body should over-hear him: I paused a while, and then asked him why he imparted a Message of so great concern (and which was to his Brother too) first to me; For I had never seen him before, and then not half an hour. He return'd, that tho he did not know me, yet he had understood who I was, and what thoughts were conceived of me; as if I could not but have an inward and true Affection for the King and his Service; it being very notorious that *Mine* had been a great Sufferer for His Majesties Father: And so indeed he was, even to the loss of All: for otherwise, I had not then been found in that Employment. And it seems I was so well known in *Scotland*, as soon as I came there, that some of the *Remonstrating Clergy*, and of our own Officers too, told the General, that he had entertained a Cavalier for his Chaplain. And he was so kind as to tell me of this, and give me good Counsel upon it: But I am
not

not, to this day, conscious that ever I discovered my self; or gave them any distaste by word; tho my Actions were not a little Offensive, I believe, in regard that several of the *Assassination Party* would apply themselves to me, as an Intercessor for Ordinary Favours from the General.

Mr. Monk pressed for instructions how to open this Message to his Brother: I told him, that his brother must be satisfied of his secrecy, as well as of his Love and fidelity to him; for that an affair of this importance must sleep in as few breasts as might be; and that he would find, that he would put himself, his brother, and his negotiation for the King, into a very great hazard, should he (relying upon characters given of the secret Loyalty of any persons among us) attempt to make any more such rude communications of his Embassy: but that he had revealed this great secret to me, I was content (I said) that he should tell his brother; which I knew he did.

Now, to encourage him, I told him, that I did believe his brother would be willing to close with any fair overture to redeem his Country from the slavery of the *Army*, under which it groaned; that he had been many ways disobliged since the return of this *Old Parliament*; and that Officers of the more extravagant sort of *Principles* had bin encouraged by Commands given them, in open contempt of

his

his Recomendatory Letters in favour of others: so that he talked oft of living a Private Life upon his Estate in Ireland: And further, that there were many jealous eyes upon him, which the *Cavaliers*, who had been formerly of his acquaintance, had given much the occasion of: for that sometimes he received Letters from *Holland*, by a *Dutch-Skipper*, minding him of his Allegiance; which he was forced openly to protest against, as prudently supposing, that there might be a snare in them.

Nay, *Oliver Cromwel* himself, not long before his death, writ once to him with his own hand; and in the Letter there was this Drol-ling Expression: 'Tis said there is a cunning fellow in Scotland called *George Monk*, who lyes in wait there to serve *Charles Stuart*; pray use your diligence to take him, and send him up to me, &c. And this, I suppose, gave the rise to a trifling Report that *Cromwel* could not get him out of Scotland. Withal, I told Mr. *Monk*, that his Brother was but a new-man, brought in by *Cromwel*, into the *English Army*, and so was disrelished by most of the great Officers of it: and that those that were heads of distinct *Factions*, did rather hate than affect him, and would contribute to give him a Lift out of his Command, could they have an opportunity to do it: and this did afterwards appear to be true, when *Coll: Cobbet* was sent down to Scotland, upon

the Kings Restauration. 13

upon the very disturbance of the *Parliament* by *Lambert*, before any notice could be returned that the *General* was dissatisfied with it; which was no more yet than what himself foresaw: But the *Soldiers*, who troubled not their heads with *Religion*, by abetting *Parties*, but fought for their *Pay*, did generally love him; for they looked upon him as a good *Soldier* and a discreet *Commander*, under whom they might safely Engage; and of these he could at any time make a good *Party*, when it might be judged fit and safe to appear.

Besides, I thought it not amiss to insinuate, that his Wife had to some degrees, prepared him to appear, when the first opportunity should be offered: For her custome was (when the *Generals*, and her own work, and the day were ended) to come into the *Dining-Room* to him in her *Treason Gown*; (as I called it) I telling him, that when she had that *Gown* on, he should allow her the liberty to say any thing: And indeed, her tongue was her own then, and she would not spare it; insomuch that I, who still chose to give my attendance at those hours, (the *General* being alone) have oft shut the *Dining-Room-Doors*, and charged the *Servants* to stand without, till they were called in. 'Tis easy to conceive what her discourses were, when a Woman that had Wit enough, always Influence, and sometimes (as it was thought) too much, upon her

her Husband, (the Theme being so copious too) might safely talk extravagancies; in confidence that they would go no further.

Sometimes the General would make hard faces, and seem to be uneasie in hearing her, and oft address himself to me; as if I were to moderate at the act: To whom I have as oft returned, *Sir, what shall I say? she speaks such unhappy truths, that you, nor I, cannot gain-say them.* I cannot forget his usual answer. *True Mr. Price (would he say) but I have learned a Proverb, that he who follows Truth too close upon the Heels, will one time or other, have his Brains kickt out.* His Lady usually withdrew before it was called to Prayers, and then I had the opportunity to talk over the same things, in softer language, (as became me) by which I very well understood his meaning, when he would express a concern for the unhappiness of the late King, and name some instances in which he miscarried: He would say, that he had *Armies* indeed of brave Men, but they were too great to be Commanded; and fewer men under better discipline would have done his business: But that he would never forget nor forgive his not fighting the *Scots*, when they first invaded *England* in 1638. That he imputed all the shedding of blood since, to the foolish (as he called it) sparing of it then; and that the *Scots* did deservedly suffer what they did. I have purposely noted these things, that

that it might appear that there were previous dispositions in the *General* to serve the *King* and his *Country*, whenever he should conceive it proper to declare : and indeed his zeal to serve *Both* was so very forward, that he had like to have lost himself by it, and those who were engaged with him, and blasted that miraculous Restauration of his *Sovereign*, which was afterwards effected by his renowned Conduct. An Atchievement which former Ages (all circumstances being put into the ballance) have not equall'd, and I do despair of the future !

Thus Mr. *Monk* and I, after an hours acquaintance or more, (having discoursed of serious and dangerous things) grew to be familiar, & we refreshed our selves with a Glass of *Wine*, & with *Hopes*. Mr. *Monk* had also his *Prophecies* of comfort ; and told me, that his Grand-Father was a Spend-Thrift, and had wasted much of their *Paternal Estate* (I think his name was Sir *Anthony Monk*) but that it was prophesied to him (by some cunning Man, I must suppose) that a *Grand Child* of his should make the *Estate* far greater than ever his *Ancestors* left it him. And another, that the *King* should come in by a *Monk* : which he might understand of the *Name*, as he did of the *Profession*. I desired him to mingle his *Prophecies* with his *Instructions* to his brother. Nor was I without my *Prophecies* too, viz. that if this Great Confe-
deracy

16 The Kings Restoration

deracy did prosper, we could not expect much more than a circumscribed and limited King. And yet I am apt to believe too, that the Army could have made His Majesty as Arbitrary even as the Grand Seignior himself, upon the assurance of a reward proportionable to the merit of the service; nay and they might (probably) have been well enough disposed that way, upon a right judgement of things; it being evident that the great Officers of the Army could never be safe under any Government, but a Monarchical; to which their own thwarting Ambition had so far reconciled them (at least some whom I knew) that they would usually say, that if they must have a single Person to govern, they would rather give their Vote, that Charles Stuart should be the Man than any other; whereas they knew that a Democracy (however boundless in its own power) would always be jealous of them, and shift them out of their commands. In this Particular Lambert had much the advantage of Monk: This had been his true and proper Interest, and of those under him at Newcastle, could they have trusted the King, and one another; and Lambert had caution given him, after he had disturbed the Parliament, that if he did not design to bring in the King, his own Projects would evaporate into Smoak. But the greatest obstruction on the Kings side was, that tho' in
Law

Law he was our Only and Rightful King; yet it was not then known how far he would Pardon; nor could I, for all Mr. *Monk's* Errant to his Brother, foresee how far the *Church* would be Restored, if the King was. But I saw that the Good man had adventur'd himself upon a dangerous Messlage; and so did deserve well, could he induce his Brother to close with this Overture for the King; which if he should be able to effect, I told him that I did not then doubt but that I could procure, that he should be *Provost of Eaton-Colledge*, and I was as good as my word to him; the General afterwards, upon my request, using the Interest of Sir *John Greenville* to do it: And that for my self, I would endeavor to succeed in Mr. *Hales's* Fellowship There; which the Noble Earl of *Northampton* (who had been an *Eaton* Schollar) obtained for me. This I mention in gratitude to his Honor, as being done without my Application to him: But I mark it yet more solemnly, to attribute it to a superior disposal of us: and of me more especially; For the General, upon the King's Return, bound me up to wait his leasure for preferment, with promises of after-provision for me. So much for dividing the *Bears skin*, now we are to Kill the *Beare*.

It was by this time *Evening*, when the Ge-

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neral

neral used to be alone : But when Mr. *Monk* and I came into the Dining-Room, we found that several Officers from *Leuth* and *Edinburgh* had not yet received their *Dispatches*; one of whom took me aside, and asked me, how it was that the General's Brother came to see him *Now*? I thought it no rudeness to ask the reason of the *Now*; but I soon found his *meaning*. What Intelligence came from *London* I cannot tell; but this I can, that designs of this nature were not so carefully concealed as they ought to have been: However I did seemingly satisfy the busy *Enquirer*, with a pretence of his Daughters Marriage; whose fate it was to be unfortunate in the Overture of Matches. So we left the General, as yet, to the work of his place. This Jealousie did somewhat startle Mr. *Monk*; and indeed Collonel *Atkins* and he being both in the House at a time, were too many. Mr. *Monk* would have had me with him at the opening of his *Embassy* to his Brother; which I refused, as fearing the mischief of it, and knowing the reservedness of the General. But I gave him Instructions (such as I thought fit) how to insinuate this dangerous Errant, and told him, that I would watch the time to do my part in it. The General went late to Bed that Night; where I believe I left him to take little rest; But I took no notice of what his Brother

Brother either *Had* or *was* to say to him. And for what I was to say, having asked his leave to speak, and obtained it; I told him, that the things I was to speak of were of great moment, and I could not say any thing, unless he would promise to give me no Answer; telling him, that so, if he judged me either Imprudent; or that I should be Treacherous, I could have no advantage upon Him, though he might of Me; and I perceived this did not dislike him. The substance of what I said was; that I knew he had the *Heart* of an *English* man to pittie his *Country*, and the *Courage* to redeem it from Slavery; and I knew that he had *Wisdom* enough to judg of things, whether he had an opportunity to do it or no.

The next day before Noon, Mr. *Monk* came to my Chamber, with the glad News that his Brother liked the Plot; and much the better, because the *Presbyterians* were concerned in it, naming several of them to me, and not forgetting his Couzen *Morice* also; but he was most satisfied with the Assurance that the Lord *Fairfax* was engaged, with whom, afterwards, he kept correspondence. Collonel *Atkins* was now gone to make a Visit farther in the *Country*, but returned to us the Week after; Thus I found that the General stood Engaged, and from this time I do date, that his Resolutions were fixed

for the Kings *Restoration*: So happy it was for His Majesty to employ Sir *John Greenville*, and so lucky for him to send his Clerk, *Mr. Nicholas Monk* hither; where he omitted nothing of his Instructions, and prudently managed them, as may reasonably be inferred from the good effect they had. Thus did the sense of *Allegiance*, and the Love of his *Country* prevail with his Brother against all hazards: And, if I knew him right, the revenge of *slights* was some part of a grain in the Scales. It is not improbable neither, that he had been in the Night, quickned with a Curtain-Lecture of Damnation; a Text that his Lady oft Preached upon to him, and sometimes he would complain of it, where he safely might.

Saturday came, and brought Mr. *Gumble* to *Dalkeith*, where now and then he used to give the General a Sermon or Two, and so eased me, for which I gave him thanks. He was then one of the Chaplains of the *Tent* which *Cromwel* had Erected; and which did act, till the Deposition of *Richard* his Son; nay, the Officers were still continued upon that *Establishment*, in expectation of what the Parliament would do in it: Such a Cabal they found necessary for the support of their *Usurpation*; and hereof the General from the time of its first Erection was nominated a Member. So Mr. *Gumble's* employment was

was such as made him well known; beside that he was an acceptable Preacher, and his Company much more so to verry many Officers of *Edenburgh*, where he resided; and this the rather, both to them and the General, because he had not engaged into a Congregational Church, as his Brother *Chaplaine* had done. He was a strenuous asserter of Freedom, and disrelished the single persons of *Oliver* and *Richard Cromwel*, when they sate successively in the Throne of Usurpation; he was somewhat better pleas'd at the return of the old *Parliament*; but being of quick apprehension he soon discerned that those few Members of it would keep themselves within those Walls of Empire at *Westminster*, and not suffer the Wheel to turn round; and as a generous person did not dissemble his discontents, but would speak them franckly and boldly enough to the General. And this too, was Sir *George Booths* quarrel.

So the General (who knew how to make use of men) after some conference with him, made him his Minister of State: And having received instructions how to proceed, he came up to my Study, where he found me then busie and alone. So he bad me lay aside all thought of Preaching, for to Morrow; for he would undertake it for me.

Now at that time there happened to be other work upon my hands which required a quick Dispatch; for I was transformed into a Secretary of State; my province being to frame a Letter to the *Parliament*, according to directions given, which was to be sign'd by the General and such of the Officers as he could bring into this new design: But Mr. *Gumble* said he was not fully satisfied of the grounds of the Generalls Engagement, now, after his Brother was come; for he might have done that sooner, and if he had, I am confident that Mr. *Gumble* would not have been wanting, on his part, to serve the Publique. But I told him that Mr. *Nicholas Monks* Journey was for his Daughter, and it was necessary to try what his Brother would contribute towards her Marriage, the match being to be with a Kinsman of theirs, which the General had desired, and approved. So the motives of this Engagement being waved (for Mr. *Gumble* did not insist upon them as a hindrance to the good cause in which he was resolved to embarque himself) we proceeded to the finishing of the Letter to the *Parliament*, which was that day done.

The next was the *Lords-day*, and the work of it was carried on by Mr. *Gumble*, who, in his last Prayer, put up a Petition for the good Intentions of the General; which soon after

after were communicated in my Chamber; whither came the General and his Brother, Adjutant *Smith*, and Mr. *Gumble*. But before any discourse was enter'd upon, I swore the General (his hands being laid upon the Bible open) in these words. *You shall truly swear, that you shall not reveal any thing that shall be discoursed of by us, or read unto you, without the consent of all here present.* So he kissed the Book. The rest I swore in order, one by one, after this manner. *You shall truly swear that you shall not reveal any thing that shall be discoursed of or read unto you, without the consent of the General and all here present.* And lastly, I swore my self; and I will be my own *Casnist* for publishing of this; and keep the Bible for a Relique, without fear of Superstition.

Our Declaration in deed, but, in form, our Letter or Supplication to the Parliament, was read; 'tis supposed to have been prefaced with good words, clawing them for their glorious actions, which we could not avoid doing. But yet we took the liberty to mind them that we found the body of the *English* Nation dissatisfied with their proceedings, as apprehending that their Intention was to appropriate the Government to their Individual persons; and that though there might possibly be something

thing of danger in gratifying them, for fear of the *old Enemy*; yet however, it did not appear to the good People, who had fought for their Liberty, that they had entertain'd any thought of the filling up of their Number; much less done any thing toward the prescribing of Rules for the Future Elections of such Parliaments as were supposed to be contained under the name of a *Common wealth*, which themselves owned to be the *Supream Government*; and that otherwise their *Armies* could not protect them in their Authority; this not being the *good old Cause* for which they fought, and they could not answer to their consciences the effusion of so much blood to uphold only a few men in their *Sovereignty*. Wherefore to prevent the shedding of more, we became Petitioners to them (we said) that they would speedily pass such votes, and do such things as might satisfy all the honest and Godly People in the Nation, that they did not design their own greatness but the good and safety of the *Common-wealth*.

In the mean time the General declared that he would associate what force he could, till he saw that their Votes and actions were satisfactory. Here I confess that

that I have not related words, but things; for the Paper was the next day burnt, because our design proved abortive. This was the Substance of our intended Letter to the *Parliament*, which having been read by me, (the General, with his Confederates, correcting or adding such expressions as were thought fit) the Presenting of it to the Officers of our Army to signe, as their humble Petition and Advice to the Parliament, was resolved upon. But they were to be Petitioners with Swords in their hands, for the General gave immediate order to Adjutant *Smith* to go that night to *Edinburgh*, and *Leith*, and to secure the Castle of the *one*, and the Cittidel of the other; (he relying upon the discretion and fidelity of this *Adjutant* in the management of so important an Affair) for we did not doubt but that Captain *Clifton* (the Governor of the Castle) would be ours, and we were as sure that *Hughes* and *Miller* in *Leith* were devoted to the Generals Service; and he was most confident of his *Adjutant*, that he would not fail in the Execution of his trust, as having for some years been received into his special Favor and Friendship: And this was the hour of his probation. So the General, having

ing a while discoursed with us, left his orders to the *Adjutant* to hasten to Horse, for it was not above an Hour to night; but himself descended my Stairs having other, and more secret designs to fetch, in assistance to this new Enterprize. But long he had not left us, before he came up again, where he found us still discoursing of the affair in hand and our engagement in it. His *Adjutant* was now ready to leave us to Execute his Orders, but the General stopped him and bespake us, Thus. *Gentlemen, it will be no great prejudice to our business, if we wait for the Information of the next Post; for Lambert is Marched towards Booth, and by this time is ready to Face him, and then we shall know whether Booth hath that force with him that 'tis said he hath, and what likely-hood there is of the Action, by any farther Assistance.* 'Twas our duty, and it was fit for us, to yield to the Generals Prudence, who understood things of this nature better than we did or could. But it was a rashness in me, which to this day I do not forgive my self, to sollicite the General afresh; for he had not long left us the second time, but I took the opportunity to Steal down after him, whom I found close in discourse with
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Gradenker an honest *Montrosian*, and a good Grey Hound Master, the latter of which qualities had before recommended him to the Generals Friendship. I stood at a distance, perceiving the conference was serious, till he would be at leasure to speak with me; and, seeing me, he soon was: To whom, I (being impatient of all delays, and thinking every minute lost in which we were not visible upon the Stage of so Noble an attempt) addressed myself with some sort of forwardness, and told him of the danger (as I foolishly thought) of the delay, and that his Brother had come to us already with the latest. The General (I can never forget his posture of answering me) laid his hands on my Shoulders, Frowned, and Paused; and then, in some anger, spake thus (*Gradenker* being at a good distance) *what Mr. Price (said he) will you then bring my Neck to the Block for the King, and ruin our whole design, by ingaging too rashly? To whom I returned with submission, Sir I never named the King to you either now, or at any other time. But he dismissed me Thus; well, I know you have not, but I know you, and have understood your meaning. Now the manner of my Addresses*

to

to him used to be for our known *Laws* and *Liberties*, propounding the attempt as a thing which would render him renowned to all *Posterity* and the Three Nations happy: For in those days I durst not name *Kingdoms*, for the danger of the Relation. So that night he slept (or did not) in expectation of the Post, which came the next Morning Six Hours at least sooner than ordinary, and brought us the glad tydings that Sir *George Booth* was Beaten, and routed. Good news Fly apace, and by Noon several Officers (and those the most considerable of the *Sectarians Sort*) came to rejoyce, and Dine with the General; but his Ordinary Table served for a Thanks-giving Dinner for them. Mr. *Monk*, Mr. *Gumble*, and Adjutant *Smith*, had the good Fortune to Dine abroad; but my Duty was to be at the Generals Table, where I heard the expressions of joy that passed from Officer to Officer, for the total defeating of Sir *George Booth*; and that the mercy was not ordinary, for the greatest part of the Gentry of *England* (they said) were engaged in it; and that their old *Friends* (naming the *Presbyterians*) were more forward in the action, then their old *Enemies* the *Cavaliers*: And that it was apparant that

that *Booth*, and his Confederates, would have brought in *Charles Stuart*. Upon this the General gave them the Complement of a Thanksgiving day, that he could wish that the Parliament would make a Law that whoever should but mention the Restoring of him, should presently be Hang'd. I had reason to think that he was but in jest; otherwise, I could guess where the Hanging lay. But to let Posterity see how far the Parliaments Reformation had prevailed against the *Liturgy*, and *Bishops*; a very intricate Case of Conscience was put, before Dinner, *whether he could be a Godly Man, that Prayed the same Prayer Twice*. Some were for the *Negative*, but others said they durst not be so peremptory. At Dinner the madness continued, and the Joy increased, insomuch, that in their Jollity they fell to Scoffing at the Name of Priest: Nay, and even the *Presbyterian* himself would no longer down with them for a *Gospel-Minister*, but he had also his Leaven of *Popery*. At last one Captain *Poole*, of Collonel *Fairfax's* Regiment, spake (his Mouth being open) that *there could never be a quiet and lasting settlement in these Nations, so long as there was a Parish Priest, or a Steeple-House left*. Upon which extravagancy of Thanksgiving Recreations, the General (who could keep his reserves with Men) did

did not, or rather would not do it here; but in an unexpected Indignation rose from his Chair and spoke to the amazement of all. *Fair and softly* (says he) *Captain Poole, if you, and your Party once come to pluck there, I will pluck with you.* Whereupon there was a sudden damp; they were but Soldiers before their General and were silent; and thus concluded the Mirth and the Thanksgiving Dinner. But the General, and those who were engaged with him, either kept, or I am sure ought to have done, a more *Festival Evening*; for a sober and sincere Thanksgiving became us, such as was exclusive of the Hypocrite, for we durst not act the *Pharisee*. And reflecting upon this deliverance (as I oft have done) I once asked the General what he thought should have become of us, had the tidings of *Lambert's* beating of *Booth* surprized us in the very first appearance of our design, when it had been impossible for us (our Counsels being put into Action) to have made any safe retreat? He seem'd gently to remind me of my importunity with him, but I must not forget his *Casarean* Return, which was *I doubt not but I could have secured to my self the Castle of Edinburgh and Cittidel of Leith; some Officers, and many Soldiers would have followed me; and then I would have Commissioned the whole Scottish Nation to Rise.* This I believe they would have done at his Whistle, for after
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the beating of Sir *George Booth*, they began to be desperate, and saw that the whole frame of a *National Church* was like to be lost. Several of their own Country-men would not be kept within the bounds of Discipline; *Swinton* and *Osborne* and others, tacked about timely for *Quakers*, as that which was most likely to be the thriving *Seet*; the Principles of it being such, that they put no rules to the conscience, but only breathed the Air, and lived in the Region of *Enthusiasm*. It was a *Trojan Horse* of all Heresies, every man might be of this comprehensive *Religion* with a *Salvo* to his own, a *Jew* and a *Jesuit* might stand with his Hat on his Head, for the *Light* within him, and all Practical Villanies might have come in under this Shelter.

I told the General, that if things did continue in this State much longer, it would be found that the *Quaker* would be as great a Goad in the sides of our new *Seets*, as ever the Old *Puritan* was to the Church of *England*. For about this time came several *Quakers* from *England*, who were cunning Seminaries of this new Faith, and some of them came to our Head Quarters, and taught Doctrines not to be believed by Soldiers, of the unlawfulness of such a bloody calling. They were all Sheep and Doves to receive and not do injuries. Once it was

was my ill luck to meet with Two of them in the Generals and his Ladys presence, when they were upon the Theme of parting with *their Coat and Cloak also*. His Lady very pleasantly forced me to stand the Brunt of their Folly, to whom I had no other Answer to return, but that they might have another Light within them, one day; which was, *that he that hath no Sword, let him sell his Garment, and buy one*. Afterwards there was a Number of them in *Lambert's Army* in *New-Castle*, as it was related to us; where they bargained for, and sold Horses, to be paid when such or such a *Steeple-House* (in our Language a *Church*) was pulled down.

It was now high time for the General to look out for a *Religion* for himself, though it was a Principle that the Marquis of *Argile* had taught, that *it was the Character of a Wise man, not to let the World know of what Religion he was*.

But the Generals Lady found him out one, for now she declares *Mr. Monk is a Presbyterian, and my Son Kit is for the Long Parliament and the Good Old Cause*. This soon found it's Operation; for the Clergy of *Scotland* made their Addresses to the General as their Patron. They were of Two sorts, the *Publick Resolutions*, and the *Remonstrators*: The Division occasioned thus.

After

After the battle of *Dunbar* was fought and lost by the *Scotch* Subjects, an 11650 (which consisted only of those who had taken the *Solemn League and Covenant*) it came to a debate whether they might not, without breach to their Covenant, strengthen their Allegiance to the King by taking in a convenient number of their Fellow-Subjects, who had fought for his Royal Father under the Marquis of *Montrose* against the *Covenanters*. It was voted that (since they were reduced to unexpected streights) their assistance might be accepted, and they entertained into the Kings Service, without damage to the cause of God and the Kirk. This was the judgement of the Major part of the Clergy, and prevailed: but there were some whose Consciences being more nice, remonstrated against this Resolution as ungodly, which by the Artifice of the Marquis of *Argyle* was fomented, and so the party withdrew. This became a feud so irreconcilable, even when the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* was under the *English* Obedience, that they would not converse or receive the sacrament each with other. It was once told the General; that at *Leith* there being a boat ready to go off for *Fiffe*, a Remonstrating Minister stept in; but seeing a Resolutioner of his Coat there, he went out, and would rather loose his passage then fail in the same boat.

boat. This division I have the rather mentioned; because it may be a word in season to the concerned to beware of the heats and pedantry of such *Ecclesiastick Enthusiasts*, who do so much contribute to the ruine of Kingdoms: and sometimes are destructive to their own Societies. These men, apart (keeping Intelligence each upon another, that they might not meet) did make their frequent visits to the General, being now a declared *Presbyterian*; laid open the lamentable condition of the Kirk of *Christ*; and implored his care, and Patronage of it, who gave them such comfortable words as his station would permit him then to do.

The end of Mr. *Nicholas Monk's* Embassy to his Brother, was now frustrated, and it being so, it created some diffidence of his prudence and secrecie. In *Negatives* I can avouch for no man, but my self; and under the awe of the Searcher of hearts I do write and declare, that the secret slept within my breast till after the King was restored, and actually returned: and next, I do think so well of Mr. *Monk's* care and prudence, that he did not in *Scotland* communicate it to any, but his Brother and me; for so, upon his return, he told Sir *John Greenwile*. But so it was, that there were suggestions of Information, or rather of Temptation to the General, that the good man was like to be sacrificed. But
this

this went no further: either that the suggesters would not stand the Test, or that the probation would be injurious to more than one: However I do conjecture there could have been found no other guilt in Mr. *Monk*, than the curiosity of the Suggester.

This was a time of *Hearsays* and *Discoveries* of Plots; for all Action ceased upon *Booth's* Defeat: Mr. *Gumble* makes his frequent visits to *Dalkeith* to hear and report news: keeps his correspondence with *Scot*, Secretary of State (to whom he was known when he was Vicar of *Wickham* in *Buckinghamshire*) and by him understood how affairs went at *London*; and what jealousies began to arise between the *Parliament* and *Army*, and some of the more eminent Members and Officers of both; makes his advantage of them, and adds fuel to the fire.

I was taken into his Counsel sometimes, and employed to write: so we sent Letters by the Post either with no name at all, or what we thought fit; and this was a divertisement, thus to play in the blind with the *Grandeess*, and to tell them those things, which themselves knew could not be revealed but by their Treacherous Confidants.

The General now saw the usefulness and interest of Mr. *Gumble*, and the danger of disobliging him; wherefore he was retained as his Confident; insomuch that when the

General appeared against the Army for disturbing the Parliament, the action was looked upon as proceeding meerly upon *Mr. Gumble's* advice. This was rather the *General's* Protection then otherwise; for had it been insinuated, that his Engagement proceeded from any sinister hand, he would have found at home among his own Officers, that suspicions would have more increast upon him. But *Gumble* was looked upon as the only man, and so represented by *Mr. Welch* from *Leish* to *Wallingford* house, who suggested, that had it not been for him, *George Monk* had never stirr'd.

Mr. Nicholas Monk was preparing to return with his Daughter by Sea, as he came; but before he went we heard of the Triumphant Return of *Lambert* to his Masters at *Westminster*, who employed him to command in chief in the expedition against *Booth*, which proved a Conquest easier than it was once thought it would have been. The Spoil was not yet divided: Nor was the *Soldiery* content with what only appeared to be a *Prey*; that is, the forfeiture of those Gentlemens Estates, who in defence of their ancient Laws and Liberties were found in the Field. Wherefore a Clamour was raised, and a Supplication framed, to bring those to condign punishment, who had in any measure, or to any degree assisted in *Booth's* Con-

Conspiracy, or could be detected as conscious of it : And had this Inquisition been made, and a Sequestration passed upon it, This *After-harvest* would have been worth more pounds, than the former publick Sales of the Kings and Church Land ; (as the gleanings of the Grapes of *Ephraim* were better than the Vintage of *Asiezer*) and how for this change of the face of things would have conduced to fix a new *Interest*, I leave to be judged.

Though it became the Army to leave this Inquisition after *Delinquency* to the *Parliament*, yet the frame of this Petition seemed just ; that they might not be always exercised with the fears of the *Common Enemy*. But there was a hidden intrigue in it, to pick a Quarrel with their Masters ; for even some of them had not utterly lost the Consciences of *English men*, and were loath to have the Government of the *Commonwealth* monopolized into so few hands ; nay, and those of them which yet favoured of *Presbytery*, were themselves suspected for a sort of *Delinquents*.

The general foresaw whither this application of the Souldiery tended ; and very pleasantly told me, *I see now that I shall have a better game to play than I had before.* His expression was, *I know Lambert so well, that I am sure he will not let those People at Westminster,*

minster, sit till Christmas-day.

October was begun, when Mr. *Monk* left *Dalkeith*; and he went from us too with the Character of an *Envoy*; for he was to assure the *Parliament* of his Brother's fidelity to them, and that he would stand firm to their Interest and Authority, against all opposition whatsoever. I parted with him upon the Sands of *Leith*, not without some grief and reflection upon our distracted Country; charging him to sollicite for the Prayers of good Men. I named unto him Dr. *Hammond* and Dr. *Shelden*, who were, upon the information given me, actually Bishops, but it seems I was deceived: So we comforted our selves, that God had in reserve his appointed seasons of Mercy. But the General, about this time, found encouragement from the Host of Heaven: And a *Scotch-Noble man* came to him, and told him plainly (after much Discourse with him) that the King would be restored, and that within some few Month; that he looked upon him as a principal instrument toward the effecting of it, & that not a drop of Blood should be spilt in the action. This was the Earl of *Nitzdale*, whom I do not remember to have seen ever before with the General; for his *Religion* rather required his retirement, than converse; and this the General informed me of; and of the
Earls

Earls Prophetick apprehensions, that there should not be the blood of a cut Finger in the action; he spoke it merrily, and therefore was assured of his share in it.

But at the Cock pit I have heard him tell it at large: Consonant hereunto I have a Paper (among others) by me of one Mrs. *Katherin Johnson's* (a Copy of which was by her delivered to *Cromwell*.) I am very well satisfied of the truth of the delivery, I knew the Gentlewoman, She being of a good Family: and I can witness; that when she was in my House (for she was related to me) she spent much time in Fasting, and Prayer. The words of the Paper are these; *Great General! All the power of the World is in your hands; therefore let humility be your guide, for none shall correct you but God: The Lord gives, and the Lord takes, blessed be his Name. Have peace with all Men; refuse None.* In the 16th Year of King Charles his Reign, I delivered him a Manuscript, wherein I told him of his destruction; but he took none of my Counsel, though I was sent from God. [As for the Scotch King (as he is called) his right here, must be in peace, not by the Sword. I can say more, if I be called to an account; but what I say is by Faith, and I shall justifie it with my life. June the 18th. I conceive the Year was 1653.

I shall not undertake the vindication of the Nobleman, or the Prophetess, but only, *in transitu*, relate matter of fact, till the *English* make us work. That which Mrs. *Johnson* forewarn'd the late King of was, not to sign the Bill for the death of the Earl of *Strafford*; which the good King afterward repented of. And tho' she had the fate of *Cassandra*, not to be believed; yet Mr. *Lenthall* (the *Speaker*) who was satisfied of the truth of this, gave such credit to her warning of him to beware of the Oath of *Abjuration* against the Royal Family, that he absented himself from the House for about Ten days, under the pretence of the *Gout*. And she assured him he should be forgiven for what else he had done against the King.

The Prognostick of Doctor *Laybourn* is very well known, who told the General that he should command in the *North*, and afterwards in all *England*, which the Doctor owned to me, and for which the General owed him a respect; for he would ponder on the fancie; and not altogether neglect the belief of them. But possibly the Man had more credit with him than the *Propherecy*. I know, when he was in *Scotland* (speaking of the infelicities that did attend the King's Family) he was told that the King, after the Twenty Ninth Year of his

his Age, had very benign Aspects, pointing at his *Restauration*: And he who told him this, added somewhat more: So much of I know not *what* to I know not *whom*; desiring in the first place, that the *Reporter* may be believed; and next, that the *vi-tuosos* of infidelity would not look upon this as a *Paralogism*; for when a Man foretells me three things, two whereof are already come to pass, he may without a tincture of levity be believed for a third: Nay, and I know a fourth and a fifth,

Mr. *Monk* was now safely Arrived at *London*, to give an account of his *Old Embassy*, and to impart his *New*. The *Old* appertained to Sir *John Greenville*, who sent him into *Scotland*. To Him he said he could give no other account, than that he could give none at all, for that he was under an Oath of secresie: but his Message he had delivered to his Brother, and that he had imparted it to none besides but to *me*. Sir *John* thought this was enough, and immediately acquainted the King with it; his Majesty being then at *Brussels*. This gave encouragement to Sir *John Greenville*, afterwards to treat personally with the General, which he was resolved to do; waiting the occasion for it; which in the process of a few Months, was happily offered; and his negotiation accepted, and effected.

Mr.

Mr. *Nicholas Monk's* new *Credentials* from his Brother were to be Imparted to Dr. *Clargis*; which were, that the *General* would resolutely adhere to the *Parliament*, and declare for their cause, if he found any disturbance given them. This was so well managed by the Dr. (who was now become Agent for the *Scotch* and *Irish* Armies) tho' Mr. *Monk* came but just time enough, that the Men at *Westminster* in sense of the *Generall's* Fidelity, and in requital of his offered kindness, (when they saw they must yield to *Lambert's* Ambition) in an expiring Vote of Revenge, before their Authority suffered a *Second Rape*, constituted him about the seventh part of a *Generalissimo*. (the Power by which he seemed afterward to act, and give Commissions.)

On the 11th. of *October*, *Lambert* brake up his Masters *House-Keeping* at *Westminster*; for it was now high time to allow their Servants the Priviledge of *Persian Slaves*, viz. To Feast upon *Soveraignty*. So he began his *Christmas* sooner than the *General* thought he would; but not sooner than he was provided for him; for his Provident Frugality in *Scotland*, had laid up some Thousands for the Pay of his Army, if upon any suddain Disturbance in *England*, he could not be Relieved from thence, that so he might keep his Souldiers in Obedience to him. And without

out a Spirit of Prophecy he did easily foresee this Change.

Three Kingdoms for about 17 years (by our *Civil-War*) had been deprived of a Just Government ; or the Plenary exercise of it ; But now they groaned under a fatal *Anarchy* ; which to supply, a Tumultuary *Juncto* was set up, called a *Committy of Safety*.

Here I shall not forget to Contribute to the Memory of Mr. *Hales* (once a *Fellow of Eaton*) who told me, after the Battel of *Naseby*, that he saw now that *Fairfax's* Army would Master both *King* and *Parliament* too ; and Rule as the *Roman Emperours*, or *Generalls*, in Despight of the *Senate* : Adding, that I might live to see it, but he, as he hoped, was going to his Grave.

At this time the Generall's Lady was herself a *Committe of Safety* ; for she had found in her Dream, where to place the *Empire of 3 Crowns* ; which she told me thus.

She saw a great Crown of Gold on the top of a Dunghil, with a numerous Company of brave Men Encompassed ; but for a great while none would break the Ring. At last, there came a Tall Black Man up to the Dunghil, took up the Crown, and put it upon his Head.

Upon the Relating of this, she askt what manner of Man the King was. I told her, that when I was an *Eaton* Scholler I saw at
Windsor,

Windsor, sometimes, the Prince of *Wales* at the Head of a Company of *Boys*; that himself was a very Lovely Black Boy; and that I heard that since, he was grown very Tall.

On the 17th. of *October*, by the Post, came the certain News to *Dalkeith*, that the Army had Dislodged the *Parliament*: Of which sad Tydings the Generall's Lady was to me the first Evangelist; and came up to my Chamber to tell it, seeming much to bewail her Husbands Infelicity, that he had not left his Command; for he had Requested it a little before, by a Letter to the *Speaker*; (whether in reallity or out of design I do not allow my self to Judge) she adding further, that she had bought very many Trunks, to carry her Goods over into *Ireland* (and indeed, many were but newly bought) and that they could live comfortably There, upon their Estate; and that the *Generall* would delight to be a Planter in his old days.

I told her, well Madam; you come to carry your Trunks now into England; and that may be as well. I confess I did not promise her to go forth, and be a Dutchesse, (no disgrace to her Memory; For at, and before this time, she had deserved it) but I merrily thought of *Ben. Johnson's Alchymist*, here is Gold go forth

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forth and be a Knight. She was almost angry with me that I would not look upon it as ill News; and then asked me what the General should do now. I told her, *Madam, he is so wise, that he knows what he has to do: nobody need be his Counsellor: And your Ladyship and I, shall find he will not let slip this opportunity to redeem and rescue his Country from the slavery and Tyranny it has lain under.* But I had good reason to think that she did but dissemble with me, unless it were that she was afraid that her hand should engage: tho' afterward she did her share to induce him to it.

I perceiv'd she had told the General how merry she found me upon this disaster; for soon after taking me aside, (he said) *I shall not employ you in any part of my Business, and be not discontented at it, for you know not these People so well as I do, and cannot dissemble with them.* I thanked him for this, but seeing he was so plain, and so kind, I made this request to him, that he would take up one resolution, viz. not to be squemish about the change of Officers, that would not be wholly dependant upon him, but reform from a Corporal to a Colonel.

Before it was Noon, the General stood engaged against the Sword of England; his Protestation being, that he would reduce the Millitary power in obedience to the Civil: and he was as good as his word. Now
he

he is visible upon the Stage: where I leave him to Gods good Providence, and his own great Prudence, to place and displace Officers; to secure Cittadels and Castles; to enter into Treaties and dissolve them; to march a forlorn of his Forces into *England*, and recall them; to encourage the Arms of the Presbyterians, and not to use them; and to employ the Councillors of his Camp in a Paper War, leaving them to be the Dictators of it, and when they had done, to leave them.

For I have not undertaken to give an exact *Journal* of things publickly known and allow'd, (there being no controversie of them) but of *General Monk's* designed Loyalty to restore the King and Liberties of the Subject, and the Laws of the Realm to the state they were in before our *civil Wars* commenced, *Ann.* 1642. And though I perswade my self that what I have already delivered as to that particular will be amply satisfactory to the ingenious and unprejudic'd; yet I shall briefly prosecute the method of this miraculous *Restoration*, and the difficulties that it met with; declining as much as possible remarks upon such particular persons as would have obstructed this glorious Enterprize, and most successful atchievement of the late Duke of *Albermale*, whose memory must be revered by all the Subjects of these 3 Kingdoms; who delight not in Blood and Faction.

To

the Kings Restoration 47

To proceed therefore, that Afternoon the General sent his trusty *Adjutant* (now Sir *Jeremiah Smith*) to *Edenburgh* and *Leith*, which by his diligence, and the influence and integrity of *Hoblothorn Hughes*, *Miller* and *Chlifton*, were secured to the Generals Interest. The General likewise order'd the March of such Troops of Horse, on whose Captains he could most relye; as *Johnson*, *Symnel* and others.

At Night he stopped the *Pacquet* for *England*, and the next day left *Dalkenb* and his Lady there, to pack up their Truncks; not knowing whether the fate of the day would carry him.

He came about 2 or 3 hours before Night to *Edenburgh*; where were usually quartered two Regiments of Foot, (excepting some few Companies, which were sent out upon particular service) ready to be remanded and exchanged.

The Regiments were is *Own*, and *Col. Talbot*; by the assistance of *This*, He began the Reformation of his *Own*, out of which he dismissed several Officers, and would have imprisoned his *Major* for ill offences done, had he not narrowly escaped his hands; and altho' the Lieutenant Colonel was absent from his Command, (as he usually was) yet upon Presumption that he was no Friend to his Design; the General gave away his Commission to Captain *Morgan*, and his *Majors* to Captain *Nichols*.

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At Night when he came to his Quarters he bethought himself, of securing *Berwick*, as a Place of great importance to his new affairs. He knew the Governor (*Col. Meers*) was steady to him, but doubted whether *Meers* could answer for his Officers; who should they mutiny at the noise of the *Generals Declaration*, the Town might run the hazard of being lost. Wherefore a Party of Horse, (commanded by Captain *Johnson*) was sent thither to strengthen the hands of the Governour: and indeed the Captain came but just time enough to do it; for the Governour had scarce clapt up his dissenting Officers; but *Col. Cobbet* enter'd there with Instructions, and authority from the Army in *England*, to assert and promote their Interest. But Captain *Johnson* brought him Prisoner to the *General*, and he committed him to the Castle of *Edinburgh*.

But had not *General Monk* been quick in remonstrating against *Lambert's* proceedings; it was thought *Cobbet* would and could have sent Him thither.

The *General* was wholly intent upon satisfying his Army of the justice of his Proceedings, and of the necessity of using the method of force, to restore the *Parliament*. To this end now he had his Confidants and Adjutors up and down; of whom Mr. *Gumble* did him singular service; for he had an excellent

lent dexterity at spiriting a Cause. The General now resolving to make a thorough Reformation of his Troops, dismissed all Officers from their trust, who would not be satisfied with his engagement against the Army in *England*; and having secured his *home-quarters*, he forthwith extended his care to the Cittadels and Castles Remote: Captain *Witter* undertook for the Cittadel of *St. Johnstons*, and Captain *Robinson* for that of *Air*.

Finding now that he had a good Cause, and some ground to stand upon; he dispatche Letters to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, to Major General *Lambert*, and to Mr. *Lenthall*, (the late Speaker). In one or more whereof was signified, his Resolution to restore our *Laws* and *Liberties*; which expression was afterwards construed in a larger sence, than possibly might at first be intended; and I know how it was expounded to the Lord *Fairfax*.

The arrival of these 3 Letters at *London*, gave some feint Hopes to the *Rumpers* of a second *Restauration*; and infinitely surpris'd the *Army-Grandees*, who neither expected such an opposition, nor would believe they had any reason to fear it: It being so directly against the Interest of any one part of the *Army* to divide against the rest: Besides that it could not enter into the thoughts of the Men of

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Wallingford-house; that Souldiers should love their *Country* better than their *Pay*. Nay, and though they might have rational Jealousies, that *Monk* would not approve of their actions, yet they were assured by some of his Officers, who were in *Town*, that he had not Interest enough to make the Army in *Scotland* against them.

But this being to some degrees already effected; *Monk* was too much a Souldier to be dispised; the place he was in, such, as would enable him to stand a War; and the Cause in which he engaged so just and plausible, that *Lamberts* ambition would have found it difficult to attempt over the *Tweed* into Blood against him: For the true state of the quarrel was whether a *second Protector*, or the *old Parliament* again. And thus much *Fleetwood* seemed to understand soon after *Lamberts* March towards the *North*; and it tended not a little to *Monks* advantage, that *Fleetwood* by express Messengers pretended to court him. True it is indeed, that *Lambert* put him self into action under *Fleetwood's* command; but had success answered his ambition, the *Souldiery* would without much difficulty have allowed him the *Superiority*.

This Rupture between *Monk* and the Army, was the talk and joy of *London*; whose Lord Mayor and Common Council soon after received a large Letter from him, inviting them
to

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to assist in the *Cause* he had espoused. The *Presbyterians* (the far greater part among them) liked the *Man* better than his undertaking, and the latter it may be somewhat the worse, because he had but just before solicited the *Independent Churches* to the same effect, and assured them of their *Spiritual Liberties*, as well as *Civil*. He likewise sent Letters to the *Fleet* (then in the *Downs*, under the Command of *Lawson*) and to some Garrisons and particular Persons in *England*; and namely to Collonel *Overton* (Governor of *Hull*) and to the Officers and Army in *Ireland*; desiring them to declare with him, for the Restoring of the *Parliament*. But no Encouragement did he receive from any of these: They Returning, that to them the Offences of their Brethren of the *English Army* did not appear so heinous, as to require a Recourse unto Armes; and that amicable and calm Treaties were more likely to secure their Common safety against the Common Enemy, who, by this breach would watch an advantage against them. Nay, from the then Governing Officers in *Ireland*, he was answered with a Resolution to declare against him, in case he advanced further.

Yet did not these discouragements in the least stagger his firm purpose to go through with his Work: No not though Dr. *Clergis*,

and Collonel *Talbot* were also expressly sent from *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* to supersede it; by whom they were entreated and conjured to use their utmost endeavors to allay the sudden heats of *Monk*, which had been kindled (they said) by ill Artifices or mistakes of their proceedings; of which they assured him that he and his Army should receive a satisfactory Account. *Clergis* was Brother in Law to the *General*, Collonel *Talbot* a Gentleman whose Conversation was acceptable to him; both these came Post haste to us *November* the Second, with Instructions to cajole *Monk* out of his Armes and Reason; but the man would not yield. *Talbot* could not make him believe the sincerity of *Lambert's* Friendship, nor the reality of his proffers of advantage; and *Clergis* did but prevaricate with them that sent him, and informed the General of the instability and Poverty of the Army in *England*; they having but little Money, and no means left them of raising any, when that was spent, but their Swords. Besides, that the Free Quarter-guests could not long be welcome; for as much as the men at *Westminster* (foreseeing their Doom) before their turning out, had Voted it High-Treason to Raise Money out of *Parliament*. Now, though themselves were but the shadow of the name, and had for many Years Usurped a Power
not

not due to them, yet did they cover their Spight and Revenge with a pretended tenderness for their Countries Freedom.

Lambert waits not for the Return of his Messengers from *Monk*, but advances *Northward*, with what Forces could be spared, at home, and his *Troops* increase in his March, for they lay conveniently in the Country, after the defeating of *Booth*, to be at the Summons of his Orders. He Arrived at *New-castle* in *November*, with a Force of about 12000 men, wherein were (as it was Reported among us) 7000 of the chiefest Cavalry of the Army.

Fleetwood sent Captain *Deane* Treasurer of the Army (a Messenger of his own) to *Monk* with a very kind Letter, and an Offer of what Preferment in the Army, he would himself. He was kindly received, and entertained by the General at Supper; but he had done ill Offices in his passage to us by dispersing Papers to seduce our Soldiers; and his deportment to the General at his very Table was somewhat unseemly, for he told him plainly that he had taken the direct course to bring *Charles Stuart* in upon them by dividing the Army, and by his influence so continuing it, charging him point blank as if *Charles Stuart* was at the botton of his Design, Consonant to his dispersed Tickets. Here I had forgot

my self, and told Mr. Treasurer thus. *No, it is you that will bring him in, for ye in England have more than justified the late King; for he did but demand Five Members of the House of Commons, and ye have Dissolved a Parliament.*

The words were scarce out of my Mouth before the General withdrew into a private Room, and ordered a Servant to Whisper me to come to him. When I came, he told me (with a sort of *Anger* and *Love* together) *Mr. Price, you know that I desired that you would not meddle or make with these People; pray let them alone, I can be Undone by none but you and my Wife. But with Veneration to his Blessed Memory, I humbly conceive that he had as much reason to be angry with this Messenger, as with me; for he exceeded the Decorum of an Envoy. I was one Morning at the Head of a Company of Foot when he passed by, and told them, my Lord Lambert is coming upon you, and all Monk's Army will not be enough for a Break-Fast for him. But he met with a Scurvy Answer; that Lambert had a v.ry good Stomach, this Cold Weather, if he could eat Fikes, and swallow Bullets.*

The General (to shew that he was in earnest, and with a prospect of gaining Assistance from the Northern parts of *England*,) sent Major Knight, with Four Troops
of

of Horse, and Captain *Miller* with Six Companies of Foot, to enter *New-Castle*. But Collonel *Lilborne* had prevented them, and put in a force too great for them to Attack : So they retreated to *Awick*, and staid there till they were Remanded. Yet did it make for the General's advantage, to be thus disappointed of enlarging our Quarters; for *Lambert* was hastning his March, and *Monk's* Army was not yet fixed; and these Troops and Companies, with their Officers, were the choicest of his Men, and most devoted to his Design. So that the loss of them might have proved injurious to it. But this Project of Enlarging his Quarters (as I remember) was none of his own; but suggested to him as a probable expedient to gain him considerable supplies of Horse, which he wanted.

The effect of the Armies Message from *England* to us, was, that it produced a Treaty; which had like to have been *Our* Ruine, though it ended in *Theirs*; because it was necessary for *Monk* to accept of it, he having not yet Modelled his Army : For though his procedure to dismiss his dissenting, or suspected Officers was quick, and Resolute; yet were they gently Treated at first; some few of them having their *Arriers* Stated, if not paid, by Special Warrant, and they suffer'd to stay among us.

But they made but ill use of the General's dealing thus gently with them; The loss of their Commands opened their Mouths against him, and their Tongues were Exercized to Debauch his Soldiers from their Duty; which being represented to the General, caused their intire dismissal, without any hopes of *Arriers* to the casheir'd.

So in the beginning of *November* a Treaty was set on Foot by the Generall, and his Officers; Coll. *Wilks*, Coll. *Cloberry*, and Major *Knight* were nominated, and delegated with instructions, and sent up to *Wallingford-house* to treat with *Fleetwood* and his Officers. Now *Lambert* being upon his March from *London*, met with our peaceable Commissioners at *York*, and would have spared them a further journey; for he assured them that he had Power from the *Committee of Safety* and the *General Council of Officers* to treat, and conclude with them. But they insisting upon the return of the Parliament to their former Power, were dismissed, and suffered to pass on to *London*, being publique Messengers. However *Lambert* was not altogether without hopes, if not from our Commissioners (when they should further open their *Credentials* at *Wallingford-house*, whither they were sent) yet from Major General *Morgan*, then at *York*, who artificially disliked *Monks* proceedings;

ceedings; and it was well known that he had a great Interest in his Friendship, and in the Soldiers of *Scotland*, his Command there, being next to the Generals. Coll. *Lilburne* (who Commanded at *York*) taking notice of this, represented it to *Lambert*; and it was concluded by them that *Morgan* was a fit Instrument to send into *Scotland*; Because that either by his Friendship with *Monk* he might create a better understanding between them, or by his influence draw off a *Party* of the *Scotch* Army for himself: which was indeed not impossible to have been effected, had his distast of *Monks* declaring against the Army been real, as it was feigned. And here I note, that it was pleasantly observed how *Lambert* and *Fleetwood*, a part, would cajole *Monk* for themselves.

So *Morgan* was sent to us, his Message neglected; but his Person most kindly received by the General, who much wanted him, and soon imployed him in the most difficult service that yet remained unattempted, which was, the reforming of our Horse; for very many even of our private Troops were great Malecontents. Of all evils I believe it was none of the greatest that our Number of Horse was so small, and that the last Summer *Fleetwood* had remanded two Regiments of them out of *Scotland*; though, it was conjectur'd, not without some distrust

distrust of the Commander in *Chief* there. *Morgan*, and Adjutant *Smith*, were Itinerant reformers from quarter to quarter, to dismount the dissenting Troopers, and to set *Foot-Soldiers* on Horse-back, that could buy Boots. But many prevented their being unhorsed, and ran from their Colours, others again carried them over to the Enemy, not without threats to return upon us. In this, *Lambert* had much the advantage of us; for we knew of no Revolters from *Them*, till their money and hopes were spent; his nearness to us (being at *Newcastle*) and the noise of the greatness of his Army, encouraged and frightened away all that would not cordially joyn with us: And yet this at the long run proved no inconvenience to the General; now he thought his Men would stand by it, should he have occasion to use them.

The Messengers from the Independant party, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, pressed the General with set Speeches to desist from his Enterprize. But he took them up roundly, and with the eloquence and resolution of a Soldier; silencing their fears of the *Common Enemy* with suggestions of a pretended necessity of doing his duty, in order to the Restoring of the Parliament. It took him up a compleat Month, the purging and forming his Army to his mind, and
marching

marching the Troops (from their several Quarters) towards the South of *Scotland* : But before he left *Edenburg*, he called a *Convention* of the *Nobility* and *Burghers* ; laid before them the Ground of his Quarrel, required their peaceable deportment during his absence, and the payment of what they were in *Arrear* to him, for his *Army* ; he having, in consideration of the poverty of the Country, forbore them long. They frankly yielded to his demand ; and some of the Members of that Assembly, by appointment, waited upon him afterwards, at *Berwick* ; moving him to furnish them with Armes, that they might be capacitated to assist in the opposing of *Lambert's* Invasion, which seemed equally to threaten (they said) both us and them. But the General look't upon the request as too early and too dangerous for him to grant ; because his own men were not to be disobliged ; beside that the two Armies were not as yet become so far exasperated, as to force us, in despair, to take in the Assistance of those who were Enemies to *Both*. In some things however they were gratified, and much was promised ; so that they went not away discontented. Nay some of them better understood the General, I believe, then his own *Officers* did ; many of which took it in great dudgeon that orders were given out
to

to the Foot Captains to fill up their *Vacancies* with *Scots*. But indeed the General was necessitated to take this Course: And the Jealousie (be it where it would) was by most of our own party deemed groundless, and ridiculous; in regard that the General had not yet given any advantage to *that* Nation against the then *English* Interest.

In which Particular he was so very cautious, that afterwards when he saw he had no need of them, he Marched back a part of his own Force (under the Command of Major General *Morgan*) to secure the peace of *Scotland*. Now this Action was particularly canvassed, and adjudged an Argument not only of his prudence, but of his fidelity to that which they called a *Parliament*, at *Westminster*. So that he stopt the Mouths of his Invidious Adversaries, who were wont to be continually prating as if that Nation would soon be in Arms against them, were it once left to it self.

Though the Armies attended the issue of the Treaty at *Wallingford-house*; yet *Lambert* being now come to *Newcastle*, the *Commanders* on both sides continued to make preparations for War: *Monk* both for the smallness of his Army, and his great want of Horse, (many of his private Troopers being not well resolved neither) was obliged to Act the defensive.

Now

Now if *Lambert* had not lingered so long at *Newcastle*, but with his Horse only advanced directly into *Scotland*; beside that he could then have met with little or no resistance, he would also have confined us to very narrow Quarters; and all the Villages and Oates and Straw (of which, at that time, there was plenty) would have been his own: And in truth, being destitute both of Money and Authority, *Sudden Action* was his true Interest.

The General on the other hand, had both these; and only wanted Power; so that *His* was *Delay*. But it was the Almightyes good time to disappoint the *Strong*, to infatuate their Counsells, and to sow seeds of Strife and Division amongst them; for a great many of those that had followed *Lambert* into the North were not through paced to serve his *Ambition*, some of them looked back upon *Fleetwood*, (he being acknowledged to have the Superiority in Command) and others again began to abate of their Jealousies towards *Monk*, who had been represented to them as a secret Friend to *Charles Stuart*. Besides that *Lambert* could not, in Justice or Honor, break in upon our Quarters, before he understood the event of the Treaty; which he soon after did, to his content.

By

By the Eighteenth of *November* the General had reached as far as *Haddington*; intending for *Berwick*, and to visit the Passes upon the *Tweede*, that so he might be able to Post his Men to the best advantage. Now upon the same night, and to the same place (after grace had been said at Supper, for Peace) came Information that our Commissioners had concluded with the Officers at *London*; which news, I knew was very unwelcome to him; whereupon very early next Morning he returns to *Edenburgh*, consults his Counsellors, Convenes his Officers, and requires their sence upon the matter. It was easy for him (without the help of a *Familiar*) to foretell what it would be; for now his Army was not the same thing that it was Five Weeks ago: And the Officers knew very well that should they tamely submit to this peace, the consequence must be that his Honor the *Collonel* must sink down into a *Captain*, and the *Captain* shrink into an *Ensigne*, and the *Ensigne* return to his *Halbert*; one Article of the Agreement being this, that all Officers who had been suspended, or laid down their Commissions since the 11th of *October* last, by reason of any differences between the Armies, should be heard, and their causes adjusted and determined by Fourteen Commissioners; the one half of them to be Chosen by the Counsell of Officers,

cers, in England, and the other half by the Counsel of Officers in Scotland. Had they submitted to this *Umpire*, to foretell which way the Scale would have inclined (now) was obvious.

This Convention of Officers, on both sides, was by Compact to meet at *Newcastle*, the first of *December* then ensuing. Now since *Monk's* declaring against the Army, he had displaced about 140 Officers, who had lately been shuffled upon him by the then Parliament, in lieu of a very considerable number of his Stoutest and Bravest Men (upon whose Courage and Fidelity he principally rely'd) whom they had removed before the 11th of *October* then last past: And though the General sent frequent Letters of Intercession for them, yet so great an Influence had the Factions of the Anabaptist and Independent at that time, that they prevailed against his mediation: Neither (probably) would they have stopt here, had not the *Westminsterians* been interrupted in their Session. All those who were thus displaced by the *Rump* and had not yet left *Scotland*, he had already restored to their Commands; in confidence of his being able to make his Peace with his Masters for so doing, when they should return again to the Exercise of their Authority: He having taken up a Resolution to signify to them, that their best Servants were
ill

ill represented to them, by these Factions; who had before them a list of all the Officers in *Scotland*, to whose Names they set these Marks B. for *Bad*, I for *Indifferent*, and G. for *Godly*. *Monks* men knew how to fight, and they loved their *old General* (some of them) better then the *old Parliament*; they knew too that their *Cause* was good, and their hopes of Restoring the *Rump* begat new ones also, of living at home in ease. So that they stood so far off from any terms of peace with *Wallingford-house*, that some indignations were expressed against the Commissioners, as if they had betray'd them.

But our Counsellors were more moderate, and came to this resolution, that a new Treaty should be desired, upon pretence that there were some *Articles* in that *Agreement*, that required a further explication, refusing to ratifie any part of it, till that were done. And this dallying it was that proved the Break-neck of *Lambert*, who accepted of this excuse at first; but afterwards found our delays.

So soon as it was known in *London*, that *Monk* and his Officers had refused to ratifie the *Agreement* which their Commissioners had made for them; several Members began to take heart upon't, to Caball in corners, and to contrive towards their own restitution: whereas *before*, they were tame
and

the Kings Restauration 65

and irresolute as scarce knowing to distinguish between Friend, and Foe; the Officers of the *English* Army thirsting for the *Government*. But then on the other side the popular expectations which were observed in all places to be raised of *Monk* touch'd them to the Quick, and made them apprehensive least Intentions might be to let in the *King* and his *Party* (which they called the Common Enemy) upon them. Neither indeed were some prying Men, amongst us, less jealous of him: For one of them coming very late to my Chamber, we entertained each other with mutual Friendship and Discourse; but he would still be ever and anon interposing for my thoughts, whether the General was for the King or not. But I told him, that he would do the General, and us all a great deal of wrong, if he did not abhor the very suspicion. He was not satisfied however with this Answer; and we talked on till it was too late for him to pass by the Centinels to his Quarters. So he was forced to lodge that Night with me, but he was still awaking, and telling me; *the General is for the King*: and I as often desired him to forget that idle Fancy, and let us both sleep.

The General now, with mighty *Protestations*, pretends to adhere to the Parliament, as it sat the 11th. of *October*; (the day

Lambert disturb'd them) thought to call another *Parliament*, was the great, and secret Instruction that he had given his Commissioners, and not to be discovered to the *English* Officers, without an unavoidable necessity: which necessity *Coll. Wilks* conceived himself to, ly under; but upon his return he found us of another Opinion.

The *Scotch* Army being now disengaged from the intanglements of peace, march't to the North side of the *Tweede*: The General lodged two Nights (*Sunday* being one) at *Dunbar*; we there observing the place of that Memorable Battle Fought *September* the third 1650. where the *Solemn League and Covenant* was more effectually executed then when afterwards Burnt by the hands of the *Common Hangman* in *Westminster-Palace-yard*. But this latter was done legally.

The next day the General came to *Berwick*, where we found the Air to be somewhat colder. But before we entered it *Capt. Ogle* (an honest old man, zealous for the good old Cause) met us, and brought into our Service a Troop of *Cumberlands*, not *Jades*, for in those days our Muster Masters called all *Horses*. Hither also came the General's Lady, with her Son; who some few Weeks after received orders to go from hence by Sea, to *London*.

Here we likewise met our fore-named
Commissi-

missioners, who returned from *England* without Peace; and yet their concluding of it at first, was very seasonable service. Hither also came *Zanchy*, (Envoy from *Newcastle*) who made several Overtures for an accommodation; but was answered both in jest and earnest by our Wits and Councillors. In this place we might have staid longer in a good Winter-Quarter, had not the boldness of the *Newcastle-Dragoons* allarm'd us; whereupon Mr. *Zanchy* was secured, and the General in a most tempestuous, dark Night marched towards *Cold-stream*; but took in the Pass at *Noram*, the Night being so very dark.

At *Cold-stream* our first entertainment was suitable to the Name; no *Sutlers* being as yet come to us, and no *Shambles* to be found. All the time we staid there we drank warm drink, it was brewed in the Morning, we had enough of it at Noon, and if any was left till Night, it was accounted stale, and only fit for Officers, What *Mault* it had within Doors, I know not; but the Ingredients without were *Horse-dung*, *Ice* and *Snow*; for it was troublesome to come to the water, yet some we had; for our *Brewsters* were not careful, or skilful in the compositions of *Ana*. Here were our settled Quarters; tho' the General with a small retinue made a slip back to *Berwick*, December the 13, to entertain the *Scotch Convention*. At our return, we found *Butchers*

and *Sutlers*; but the *Sutlers* (useful men) had got a whole Barn to themselves: another there was, (but not all out so good) that served indifferently for a *Cow-stall* and a *Chapel*; our *Quarter-Master* having a Warrant for it, from the *Nativity of Christ*.

Here we were fixed in expectation of events; what *Lambert*, what the Men of the Parliament, and what the concealed Lord *Fairfax* would do. We sent and received Messages, and fought in Paper; laying aside, and reserving Powder and Shot, as dangerous things, and not fit to be employed against Brethren. But if *Lambert* would have breathed his Horse with 3 or 4 days March almost Belly-deep in *Snow*, made of that his Provinder too, and lodged them in it, for scarcity of Villages, on the *South side* of *Tweed*; he might have attacked us on the *North*; where, after he had ascended on even Banks, he would have found a *Battalia* ready to receive him, filed into Horse and Foot, (which the *Countryman* may unby a *Lare of Fat*, and a *Lare of Lean* in his Bacon) for *Wings* of Horse we had none, as not intending to fly. This was the Posture in which *Morgan* by the *Generals* Order drew up his Men at *Kelsey*.

And now comfortable News thronged in upon us; as that they then growing Party in *Ireland* had declared for us, and were ready to send us assistance; that *Portsmouth* had opened

opened her Gates to *Hazlerig*, *Morley* and *Walton*: (three of the *seaven* Commissioners for governing the *Army*) and this *Col. Weitham* (the Governour of it) did, in respect to the *General*, aswell as in duty to the *Parliament*: that the *Fleet* under *Lawson*, had owned our Quarrel against the *Army*; and that *Fairfax* was ready to march to fall in upon *Lambert's* Rear: should he advance forward upon us: assuring us that, what e're came on't, he would not fail of being in Arms by the first of *January*: and he was better than his word. The *Souldiers* began now to be revived in these cold *Quarters*, as hoping for better. Hither came some of our Officers to us that were absent from their Commands, when the *General* first declared; alledging in excuse of their staying so long away, that they were stop'd by *Lambert* at *Newcastle*; but all was to no purpose, for they found their places filled.

This Stream of good News notwithstanding, the *General* continu'd his wonted care of his *Guards*: It being now evident, that *Lambert* within a few days, must either fight or fall. And as for my self, I must confess that I was inwardly displeased at thus many favourable expresses; as apprehending that this name of a *Parliament* would by nominating and shifting Commissioners for it, engage the *Army* so much to their Devotion, and get such other advantages of fixing their *Oligarchy*

garchy: that it would be no easie matter to dispossess them. With these foolish whimsies in my head, I was resolved to steal privately to the *General*; (who had cautioned me before hand, not to be seen to appear in these publick Transactions) and to do this, I knew between *Midnight* and the *Morning* to be the only time: so between 2 and 3 of the Clock by the help of a Corporal I came to his Chamber-door, found it only latched, the *General* in his Cloaths, his head laid on the side of the Bed, and his Body resting upon two Stools or a Form; Fire and Candles being in the Room. He awaked at my first entrance; I desired his pardon and he kindly gave liberty of Speech. Upon my representing to him what I judg'd to be his Interest and Duty; that is to say, the restoring of our known Laws; (for I never used to speak in any other terms) I cannot forget his Passion and his Posture: Mr. Price (said he) *I know your meaning, and I have known it; by the grace of God I will do it, if ever I can find it in my power, and I do not much doubt but that I shall.* So closing my hands in both his, he lifted them up, and devoutly uttered., *by Gods help I will do it.*

I then took the further liberty to mind him of the Papers he had signed to stand to this *Parliament* as it sat the 11 of *October*, and no other; and of several other Restrictions which he had needlessly (as I conceived, put upon himself.

self. He Answered me with some regret; *you see who are about me; and write these things; I must not shew any dislike of them: I perceive they are jealous enough of me already,* bidding me not to look upon it as any act of his. Having thus discoursed him of diverse things which I thought might be for his service; (he courteously allowing me the freedom) I left him to his short Rest; for he was to be early at business. And thus I became further satisfied at what *Pom* he aimed; however then and afterwards with the winds he steered his course.

December was very far spent; but so were not the hopes of accommodating this breach between both Armies by a Treaty. Wherefore *Monk* is pressed to depute, and send his Officers to treat with *Lamberts*, as it was promised; yet the doing of this was suspended; we having understood that there would be powerful diversions in the South: But so soon as we were certainly informed that *Portsmouth* had declared for the Parliament; and that the Southern Generals (who acted by the same authority with our Northern) began to give out their orders, and were obeyed, *Monk* immediately dispatcht away an Express to *Lambert*; signifying, that He and his Officers were ready for a Treaty; but that he could not proceed that way, till he had by Letters consulted his Brethren at *Portsmouth*, and obtained their consent for the same,

and the choice of the place where they would have it; wherefore he desired that his Messenger (*Major Bannister*) might without any interruption pass on his way to them; subjoyning *Complement*. *Lambert* perceiving the drift of this, detained *Bannister*, and vented his Resent against *Monk* and his Officers, as if they had deluded him.

And now the Mighty Men of *Newcastle*, (who found not their hands or their hearts in condition to fight against their *Scottish Brethren*) fell a raging into despair; for the next News that they and we hear of, was, that the Regiments in and about *London*, had revolted from *Fleetwood*, and mutined into obedience to the *Parliament*. The penitent Soldiers were content to take shame upon them for their second Apostacy from the good old Cause, (*Lieutenant General Fleetwood*, expressing it, that God had spit in their faces;) and (seeing there was no other remedy) to trust their Masters, a third time, with the *Commonwealth*.

So December the 25 (by some called *Christmas day*) in the afternoon, the *Flag-end* of a *Parliament* sat down again within those Walls, which by their good wills they would never have parted with. Sovereignty it seems was so very sweet, that the bare Priviledges of coming thither to give Council, was in those times canvassed for, as if the contest had been for a

Roman

Roman Tribune-Ship. But this doth not concern *Coldstream*, whose *General* was not altogether a Prophet: for tho' he told me, after the defeating of *Sir George Booth*, that he knew *Lambert* so well that he would not let the *Men at Westminster* let till *Christmasset-day*; yet he said not, on that day they should return to sit again. The News of this came not to us till the very end of *December*: But though it had not come at all; the *General* would have marcht forward, because the *Lord Fairfax* was by agreement to appear on the first of *January* with what force he could make; and what *Confederates* he could gain, by his Interest out of the old *Army*. But he found it necessary to be in Arms some few days sooner, because he suspected that his intents were discovered by *Lamberts Party*, and he was too politick to be taken napping. Thus Intelligence came to us, that the *Lord Fairfax* was up, in and about *York*, and that to him had joyned almost all *Col. Lilburns* Regiment of Horse, who, neglecting their *Col.* followed the commands of their *Major Smithson*, a very worthy Souldier.

Upon the Neck of this came several other advises, as that the whole *Irish Brigade*, who were looked upon as the choicest men in *Lamberts Army*, were resolved to revolt from him, (he having no other authority, than what his own Interest could make, and not less mo-
ny

ny to pay his Souldiers) and that Levies were preparing in *England*, by such of *Fairfax's* old Officers, who bare a sway in their respective Countrys; as *Col. Rosier*, and others. So that it was now manifest, that *Lambert* must of necessity break up his quarters at *Newcastle*, and march either against *Monk* or *Fairfax*, both *Generals* of a fortunate name in War, and acting for that authority from which this Rebel-Army had their Commissions; their *Committee of Safety*, having never given out any, that ever I could hear of.

Monk concluded that *Lambert* would rather look back towards *Yorkshire*, than attempt upon Him: He had constant and diligent Spies at *Newcastle*, to inform him from time to time of the condition of the Army there: and as soon as ever *Lambert* offered to move, the *General* would have had Intelligence of it; and then we should have marched from *Cold-stream* directly to the relief of *Fairfax*.

But God was pleased to decide the Quarrel without Blood: for upon the return of the men at *Westminster*, they immediately voted that all their Armies should betake themselves to their several Quarters they were in the 6th before *Lambert's* disturbance. The News of this was brought to us by Letters only; but an express order was sent to *Newcastle*, to break

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break up: which *Lambert* obey'd, (and absconded) for it was too late to resist.

These good Tydings created much joy in our little *Habitations*; tho' the *Key* for returning into *Quarters* somewhat perplexed our *General*. But our Officers would not understand a bare Letter of News to concern Them; being more comforted this cold Winter with the hopes of living near their own homes, (now the *Parliament* was returned) then of the Golden Chains and Medals that had been promised them by those who would have protailed Mountains rather than not have sitten again. For could the People of *England* ever have once gotten a lly tollerable freedom of choise, and reduced the Armys to Terms of Obedience that every Body might see with half an Eye soon these good old Cause-men would have been new-named: and whoever has heard of *Richard's Parliament*, cannot but estimate this as more than a *Probabilitie*. 'Twas now the first of *January* 1660 (it was the Lords day too, and it was his doing) when our *General* ordered his *Infantry* from *Cold-stream* over the *Tweed*; and the next day marched his *Horse* likewise; having sent *Col. Knight*, before, with some Troops towards *Newcastle*.

'Twas troublefom to descend the River on *Horseback*, and a superstitious care was taken that the *General* should not trip: The Frost

Was

was great, and the Snow greater; and I do not remember that ever we trod upon plain Earth from *Edenburg* to *London*. The Air was this day so very clear too, that we could distinguish the colours of the *Pebles* in the *Tweed*, tho' several Horse had passed before us. I being behind the *General*, entertained my self with this waggish thought; that did but the men of *Westminster* (for thus he commonly stiled the Parliament to me) know what a Loyal Servant they were likely to have of him; they would never have suffered him to pass thus quietly! And of this I had afterward occasion to tell him.

The 2d. of *January* we came to *Wooler*; where the *General* received a kind Letter from the *Speaker*, signifying indeed, that they were returned to the exercise of their authority, but not one word about his marching towards them. This encreased his jealousy.

The 3d. of *January* we came to a Village, not worth my naming, because here I met with worse Quarters than at *Cold-stream*. I and some few more, after we had consumed our Landlord's Fuel, bargained for his empty Vessels for our Chimney, drank out his full ones, and without any disturbance to our Brains, and lodged that Night in the best Room of his House, which was, within the *Chimney-Mantle*. The next Morning, our Landlord had no reason to complain; (tho' I had

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had) he being informed that the *General* himself had no so good Quarters the other Night, as his *Chaplain* had at the Parson's House; and therefore had a mind to change with us here. But I fairly left him; for I saw neither Meat, Drink nor Fire, when I came in with him; however, I did my Duty, (or a piece of it at least) to attend him to his *Chamber*, though he was fain to climb some steps of a Ladder to come to it, and glad that it was no worse. But my Brother *Chaplain* stragled out of his Quarters, and found *Christmasse-Pie*, and strong *Beer*, at a Gentleman's House, who bad him and his company the welcome of a Night; but in the Morning professed more kindness to *Lambert* than to *Monk*: And he was not mistaken in the Interest of his Religion.

The 4th. We reacht to *Morpeth*; whether came Mr. *William Man* (*Sword-Bearer* of *London*) with Addresses from the City, who had been early Rebels to the *Parliament*. The *General* gave him Letters back; and for Reasons of *Camp*, sent along with him Mr. *Gumble* to the Parliament. The Magistrates of this Place (whether out of Civility, or to attone for *Lamberts* long abode with them is no great matter) presented us with Wine and Sugar. Our next Stage was *Durham*, whither came the *High Sheriff* to us. From hence the *General* sent Sir *Joseph*

Joseph Douglas, (whom he had formerly obliged) with Letters of moment to *Sir Charles Coote* in *Ireland*. *Douglas* had long before contracted an intimacy with the *General* in *Scotland*, was frequent in his Visits to him at *Dalkeith*, where he used (for several days together) to be courteously entertained and lodged. The trust that the *General* reposed in him, was (it seems) of a great and dangerous Quality: for *Douglas* was to negotiate with *Coote* in *Ireland*, that the various Interests there might be so managed, as to engage them to confederate quickly into a Declaration for a *Free Parliament*, as the most proper and effectual means to redress their Grievances. *Douglas* was credited, and the design took effect, even a little with the earliest; for just upon the Pinch of their declaring for a *Free Parliament*, they were allarm'd with the astonishing News of *Monks* having broken down the Gates of *London*: (the manner and reason of it I shall not here anticipate) whereupon the Conspirators in *Ireland* against the then *Parliament's* authority] expostulated with *Douglas*, as if he had betrayed them: But the next *Pacquet* from *England* assured them, that *Monk* had likewise declared for a *Free Parliament*; and so all was right again. *Sir Joseph Douglas* is well known at Court, being at this time, (as I take it) a Gentleman of the *Privy-Chamber*.

In

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In our March afterwards, we made no *Halt* till we came to *York*. Here we staid five days, one of them being *Sunday*, and Mr. *Bowles* gave us a good Sermon in the *Cathedral*. This Gentleman was the Lord *Fairfax's* Chaplain, Counsellor and Agitator; and dealt with the General about weighty and dangerous Affairs; One night above the rest keeping him up so very late, that upon my Entering the Chamber to go to Prayers, I found *Him* and *Bowles* in very private Discourse; and the General ordering me to go out for awhile, but not to Bed: Sometime after Midnight *Bowles* went away; so that then our Servants hoped to Sleep: But the General sent for Me into to Him, and commanded them to stay *without*, as before. He took me close to him, and said *what do you think?* Mr. *Bowles* has pressed me very hard to stay here, and declare for the King; assuring me that I shall have great assistance. I started at the boldness of the Proposition, and asked him whether he had made *Bowles* any such promise. He answered me, *no truly, I have not, or, I have not yet*: For I found him a little Perplexed in his thoughts; And I my self was as much: But after a little Pause, I spake to this Effect; That after the Famous *Gustavus* (King of *Sweedland*) was Slain in *Germany*, his Effgies in Wax (with his Queen's and Children

dren) was carried up and down to be shown for 2 pence; the Spectators being entertained with the story of his Life; of which I remembred this Passage, That when this King enter'd Germany, he said, *That if his Shirt knew what he intended to do, he would reare it from his back and burn it.* My Application of it to the General was designed to entreat him to Sleep between this and the Walls of London; and when he came within them, (which I doubted not but would be very shortly,) then to open his Eyes and consider what he had to do. This Advice I also back't with such Reasons as I conceived to be most prevalent.

But it was not the General only, that was here Solicited upon the Kings Behalf; some of his Officers being also set upon, and promised great Rewards: One of whom was Represented to have demanded no less then to be *Lord Chancellor.* This *Sr. Edward Hide* (who was so, when the King came in) told the General; and he to me.

The Noon before this mighty Intrigue, the Lord *Fainfax* Dined with the General privately in his Chamber; and I was then deputed to be his Host, at his publick Table; where he allowed a *Half-Crown* Ordinary (large Commons!) for Twenty Men. And the General, to return the Lord *Fairfax's* kindness, went one day and
dined

Dined with him at his Country House, where He and his Retinue were Hospitably Entertained, and returned the same night.

Hither Now were brought Orders from the *Parliament*, to March towards them. The General expected them sooner; and in requitable of their confidence in him publickly cudgel'd an Officer who had traduced him by saying *this Monk will at last bring in Charles Stuart*: charging his Officers to do the like to those under their Command that should so offend.

The *Parliament* were jealous of *Fairfax's* late rising for them; and therefore probably thought this no fit place for *Monk* to lodge his Army in: from whence I suppose he would not have removed *Southward*, without orders; and, it might be, have disputed it had he been remanded *Northwards*. But if he had so far yielded to the *Parliament*, as (overruled by the Apprehensions of the Army of *England*, and by the advantages that might have been taken of him in *York-shire*, outweighing all those that he could then reasonably propound to himself) to return from whence he came; yet his Army could not but have stomached the disgrace of the jealousy, to be sent back into *Scotland*. And this resentment he might have made good use of; for *there* the Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland* would have been entirely at his devotion; and the assi-

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stance from thence, together with some farther modelling of his Army (the discontents in *England* dayly increasing too) might have produced some formidable disturbances to the *Government*; especially now the *Parliament* could not well trust their own Army at home. But the coming of orders to March forward, took away the Umbrage of all Distrusts. So Auditor *Tompson*, from *London*, found us at *York*; and, in the remainder of the Generall's March, was entertained by him as one of his *Counsellors*.

Here we left behind us Coll. *Fairfax's* Regiment of Foot; and Major General *Morgan*, was sent back to *Scotland* with his two Regiments of Horse and Foot, to secure the peace of that Kingdom. From *York* we made no stay, till we came to *Nottingham*.

Hither came Dr. *Clargis*; Mr. *Gumble* being returned to us, from *London*, the Stage before, at *Mansfield*.

Now the General made a halt to bring up the Rear of his Army; and here our Counsellors had leisure to fall into debates. Among divers other Projects, a Subscription was propounded that we should be obedient to the *Parliament* in all things, but the bringing in of *Charles Stuart*; But this was as subtilly opposed, by Arguments to the effect following. That this was the way to fall into the same Error with the English Army; to make

our

our selves Judges, and consequently Masters of the *Parliaments* Actions: For whensoever they did any thing that disliked us, it was but suggesting that they were doing such things as tended to the bringing of him in; and so make our selves our own Carvers. So this was waved, and the rather, because the *Parliaments* Commissioners were to meet us the next Stage, which was *Leicester*. However the General (to remove all distrust of himself) yielded that a Letter should be sent in his Name, to his Country-men in the *West*; wherein were *State Reasons* alledged, asserting the impossibility of the Kings Return, and his protestation against it; for now, it seems, he was informed what hopes these *Western* Gentlemen had conceived of him.

As we entered the Town of *Leicester*, we saw the *Irish Brigade* drawn up by Collonel *Redman*, and Collonel *Bret*, whom the General received with great courtesie, they being his Cordial Friends. His Counterfeits Mr. *Scot* and Mr. *Robinson*, the *Parliaments* Commissioners, were now at Hand. From hence, the next night, we came to *Harborough*, where Divers from *London* waited the Generals entrance. They complained of grievances, which he durst not promise to redress; for now *Scot* and *Robinson* (Counsellors of State, and Abjurers of the Kings

Family) were his Ears and his Mouth. This was a hard task for him to bear; and yet not so hard as it would have been to most other men; for he never loved to speak *much*, and cared for none that did. So he answered them in few and wary words, with submission to his Superiors; yet what his words did not promise, his Countenance seemed to do. But these Citizens came full of hopes to find a more kind reception: For he had sent their City a Letter out of *Scotland*, desiring their assistance; however care was taken by others, that they should not despair of him; and so they returned. From this place till we came to *Barnet*, *Scot* and *Robinson* would still Quarter in the same Inn with the General; that they might be present to answer the Addresses of the Country; of which the most Famous, were at *Northampton* and *St. Albans*.

The summe of the Desires both of the City and Country, were either a full and free *Parliament*, or the Restauration of the Secluded Members of This. And it was observed, that the Gentlemen who made these requests had not been *Cavaliers* (the name by which the Royal Party was distinguished) so that they were the less suspected by our Officers, who saw what the Sense of the Country was. Those who were present at the making of these *Addresses*,
might

might have said that *Monk* was the *Jupiter*, and that *Scot* and *Robinson* made one *Mercury*, for they only were the *Speakers*, and answered All: The *Generals* Return consisting in a Nod, a Frown, or the Rubbing of his Fore-head, if the Speech were long. But at *St. Albans*, after *Sir Richard Temple*, had spoke long and well, *Scot* turned into *Mars*, and told him that he would first take up the Sword, as Old as he was, before the things they Petitioned for should be granted.

January the 28. We came to *St. Albans*, which was our last Stage: And from hence Collonel *Lidcot* (*Scot* and *Robinson* not being consulted) was sent to the *Speaker*, to desire that the *Regiments* which attended as *Guards* to the *Parliament*, might be distributed into *Country Quarters*; which was with some sort of difficulty obtained: Though the *Parliament* had no reason to be Diffident of the *General*, for his whole *Army*, with which he was to enter the *Town*, was somewhat less then that part which was to move out; and he had left Four *Regiments* of his *Marching Army* behind him; which were now a great way off. Besides that the *Parliament* had fresh experience of the restless *Spirits* of their *English Soldiers*; and they could not but look upon their *Scotch*, as men of a different Temper; neither indeed could they do less, for these

their Restorers (who had taken this long March, to gratifie them) then to take them for their Guards, the smallness of their Number, not being capable of working any notable change. Now when they were at *London*, they were not to be under the sole Command of *Monk*, because the Army was Governed by Commissioners; and *Hazelrig* stomached, that our General should be called by any other name than Commissioner *Monk*.

At *St. Albans*, besides Addresses made by the Gentry upon the publick account, the General was busied in receiving numerous Visits; both which were distastful by our Honorable Spies (*Scot* and *Robinson*) who sometimes in Civility, or for dispatch of their own business, would *withdraw*. But their Appartment was only distinguished from the Generals by a *Wainscot-Door*, in which either they found or made a hole to hear and see. This the General took notice of and complained of to me, with a sort of scornful Indignation.

But here we spent one day extraordinary at the Church; the Famous *Hugh Peters*, Mr. *Lee* of *Hatfield*, and another, carrying on the Work of the Day, which was a Fast. *Peters* supererogated, and prayed a long Prayer in the Generals Quarters too at Night: As for his *Sermon*, he managed it with

with some Dexterity at the first, (allowing the Cantings of his Expressions) His Text was *Psalm 107. v. 7. He led them forth by the right way, that they might go to the City where they dwelt.* With his Fingers on the cushion he measured the *right way* from the red Sea through the Wilderness to *Canaan*; told us it was not Forty days March, but God led *Israel* Forty years through the Wilderness before they came thither; yet this was still the Lord's *right way*, who led his People *crinkledom cum crankledom*. And he particularly descended into the lives of the *Patriarchs*, how they journey'd up and down, though there were promises of blessing and rest to them. Then he reviewed our civil Wars, our intervals of peace, and fresh distractions, and hopes of rest; but though the Lords people (he said) were not yet come to the City of Habitation, he was still leading them on in the right way, how dark soever his dispensations might appear to us. Before he concluded, he seemed to me to preach his own Funeral Sermon, I looking upon my self to be on the *left* side of the Cloud. Thus my little remarques of him, and this *Fast*, were at an end.

But it was in those days observed of an *Army-Fast* that it commonly proved the fore-runner of some solemn mischief, and rendred their Governors, (whose Suprema-

cy in Causes Ecclesiastical was not owned by these kind of Subjects) jealous of them. For they would not scruple religiously to meet to seek the Lord, without the Mandat and Direction of their Masters; And in Truth they knew so well at what *Turning* to find him, that their *Seeking* was never in vain.

February was now begun; upon the second of which, the General moved with an easy March, to *Barnet*; here he parted with his long guests, *Scot* and *Robinson*, and took up Quarters only for himself and his domestique retinue; so we were better accommodated. Much business was here dispatht; orders were distributed for our next days March into *Town*, and that our Soldiers should demean themselves civilly in their Quarters, and pay for them; for our Money held out still. But about midnight, *Scot*, (being frighted with a Letter from *Westminster*, intimating that the Soldiers who were to leave their old quarters were fallen into a high Mutiny, and that there was danger that they would joyn with the *Prentices*, who cryed up in the streets for a *Free-Parliament*) passionately desired, or rather by his Authority required the General immediately to beat his drums and march. The very posture of *Scots* coming into us with his Night Gown, Cap and Slippers

Slippers, might have made us believe that the danger was eminent: But the General calmly answer'd him, *I will undertake for this Nights Disturbance, (says he) and be early enough in the Morning to prevent any mischief.* However he yielded that a Messenger should be sent to see and report what the matter was. There had been an Uproar indeed, but it was soon quash't, and the Soldiers were leaving the Town as the Messenger enter'd it. But the motion for such a hasty *March*, was looked upon as an Artifice of *Scot's*, so to mingle the Soldiers of *both Armies*, that they might be the less at the Generals devotion.

The next day, before we came to *Highgate*, the General drew up his Forces, which consisted of Four Regiments of Foot, and Three of Horse; their Number being 5800, allowing 1000 to each Regiment of Foot; and 600 to each Regiment of Horse, besides Officers. We entred the Town at *Gray's Inn-lane*; and (the Bells ringing as we pass'd along) stopped at the Rolls before the *Speaker's* door; who was not yet returned from the House: but we met him in the *Strand*, at the opening of the Street. The General allight-ed, and complemented (after his Soldiers fashion) this our *Representative of Sovereignty*, for the *Mace* was in the Coach; and so we came to *Whitehall*. The General's apartment there was the *Prince's lodgings*, and his servants were
all

all such. Here our Butler (Sir *Ralph Mort*) who, at *Holyrood-house* in *Scotland*, had promised to give a Bottle of wine at *Whitehall* on *Candlemas day* was now mindful of his promise, and his Prophecie, and presented me with one; and this was but the day after it. This was a merry Fellow, who with a *Table-knife* had been mock Knighted into the name by the late King at *Oxford*, (being at Supper) upon his relating the dangers he passed, in bringing intelligence from *New-arke*. We had more of this Stamp in our Family, who had served in the Wars for *Charles* the First. Here we rested on *Saturday* and *Sunday*, (which are the *Jewish* and *Christian* Sabbaths) for we were come into a new World, and would please All.

But on Sunday the General was disturbed by a secret Information, which was this. A Son of Secretary *Scots*, who lodged in one Mr. *Sturdy's* house in *Russel-street*, had (it seems) so great a confidence in his Landlord (though a *Romanist*) that, upon discourse, he revealed a great secret to him; viz. that not only *Monk's* power for Commanding the Army should be taken from him, in a few days, but that he should be sent to the Tower, and questioned for his Life; and that it was not doubted but that such things would be proved against him as would take off his Head from his broad shoulders. *Sturdy*, very
early

early in the Morning, came to Captain *Morrice*, (an honest *Cavalier* of his acquaintance in the City) and reveals to him the Discourse of *Scots* Son. Whereupon *Morrice* forthwith carries this *Sturdy* to Mr. *Kendall* and Mr. *James Muddiford*, (who were related to the General) and they bring him with them to *Whitchhall*. The General gave so much credit to this Relation, that *Sturdy* (for some time afterward) rode in the *Life-guard*. Thus much Captain *Morrice* (well known in the City) can avouch.

On Monday, the General saw the Face of his Masters in the House; received solemn thanks from them by their *Speaker*, and returned his to them: But because he took upon him to mind them of some things which he judged were for the publique good, it was not well relished by some, and particularly not by *Scot* and *Rabinson*, they reflecting upon him as if he sought to impose his own sence of things upon the House; yet this was past over, they being content to impute it to his affection for their service, rather than to any distaste he had of their *Proceedings*. Thus (having been first nominated one of their new molded Counsel of State) he was invited to take his place among them. But then every Counsellor of State was by order of Parliament to renounce the Title and pretences

tences of *Charles Stuart*, and all the Descendants of the lineage of King *James*; nay and of all other single persons who should pretend to the Government of these Nations: All this was to be done too by the Solemnity of an *Oath*.

This had been propounded to him before, by those who had argu'd to this effect, for the necessity of it: That it was high time for them to descriminate their own party, that at last they might come to know whom they could trust; it being now found that there had been a great defection, even among themselves. The General was not unprovided of an answer, and so craves leave to demurr; adding that he had not seen any good come of their *promisary Oathes*, those who took them making no scruple to break them: He instanced in the *Covenant* and *Engagement*; and suggested that seven besides himself, who were nominated to be of the Connſel of State, had not yet abjured; beside that he did not know how it would relish with his Army, who were very tender in that poynt. And indeed I knew some of them who (though no friends to *Monarchy* yet) had taken up a Notion that it was *not Lawful to Swear against the Providence of God*. But that they should see that they had no reason to suspect Him or his Army, he desired

desired that they would make Tryal of his and their Fidelity and obedience to them, and if they found that he either disobey'd or disputed their Orders, he was then in their power; for he brought not an Army with him to make them jealous of him; having sent back a great part of it, after he understood that they were establisht in their power.

Hitherto his Actions had not been such as in the least degree, to make the *Parliament* or *Counsel of State*, distrustful of him; nay they were rather such as ought to have produced a good opinion of his constancy to them, not only by his sending a great part of his Army back, after they were restored; but also by contending so eagerly for them: For when a Treaty between both Armies was first propounded, and the Articles of it were debated in *Scotland*; it was with great difficulty that he yielded to the calling of an other Parliament: and when he did, he recommended this his Condescension to his *Commissioners*, as the great secret of their Trust, charging them to try all wayes for an accommodation, before that should be discovered; nay and broke the Agreement too, as much for this reason as any other; and removed Collonel *Wilks*, from his Command, because he disclosed this Instru-

Instruction unnecessarily; he resolutely adhering to the Parliament of the Eleventh of October, and no other. And indeed no other could so well have done his business, for this was become odious to his People. But fears and jealousies are protestations *contra factum*; to which, besides popular expectations at home, the Kings Court abroad administred fuel: for *adversity will lay hold on a Bull-rush.*

At this time a Gentleman (whose sufferings were better known to me then I to him) came to me and told me, with great secrecie, what hopes there were beyond Sea of *Monks March*; expressing a desire to gain some from me, but I sent him away discontented. The General's March without orders, might (at first) reasonably create some diffidence; but it was soon authorized, and countenanced by the coming of Orders, and Commissioners, from what we were obliged to call a *Parliament.*

It was now the General's business to overcome *Scot's* suspicions of him, as knowing him to be his Enemy, and to have plotted his ruine. *Scot*, in our March, had very often complained of the great *malignancy* of the City of *London*; (for which, the coming of it's Commissioners gave occasion enough) but the General would comfort him by hinting that the Parliament needed

need not to fear any danger thence, so long as they had an Army by them: And it seems he had promised him to take down the Stomack of the City, if need required. The necessity at this time was eminent; for now the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common Counsel men of *London* by a publique vote declared that they would pay no more Taxes and Contributions, till the Parliament was filled up with equal Representatives of the People. Before this, only a few popular tumults gave the Government a disturbance; but now the Authority of the whole City rebel'd against the *Men of Westminster*; and I may safely say that the Citizens the rather made choice of this time, because the General (only with his *Scotch Army*) was in their Suburbs, and at *Westminster*, of whom they had entertained good hopes, from the time that divers Citizens of good note had given the General visits at *St. Albans* and *Barnet*; They knew too that many of the Officers had relations and Friends among them: Nor did any Citizens return from us with the ill news of despair; nay some of them used to carry more hopes back, then they had reason for; their affection for their County supplying the deficiency of promises from us. Thus most of them hoped well, and none would despair of *Monk* and his *Army*.

On

On Tuesday night the General was detain'd at the Council of State till past two in the Morning; which (he being no Member as yet because no Absurer) created some suspitions in his Friends and Servants, as if the Counsel meant not well towards him; and by some it was whisper'd as if it was designed that he should be sent to the Tower. Now to speak the Truth, the Counsel might (without reproach of jealousy, upon their wisdom) have suspected that the City would not have thus boldly remonstrated, had not *Monk* given them some secret encouragement.

But his Superlative foresight of things defeated the City, the Counsel of State, and his Friends and all; for he accepted of orders, and the next day Executed them: He went into the City, and after he had plac'd his main Guards for his own Security, he distributed the remainder of his small Army to their severall posts, charg'd them to pull down the City-gates, break their Port cullies, and pluck up their Posts and Chaines; himself, in the mean time sending for, and imprisoning the most daring and disaffected Members of the Common Counsel, pursuant to his orders.

It is God's prerogative to change times and seasons, and to set up and pull down Kings and Governments: And this was the
real

fatal crisis that so soon changed the face of things, and made the revolution so swift. For never did Soldiers with so much regret obey their *General*; obeyed indeed he was, but with scorn to them who commanded their Commander. It was a pretty medley of passion, when I saw them both merry, and angry at this odious drudgery: and a lively pen that had observ'd and could express their humours, might have made a play of it: This was the carriage of the ordinary Soldiery; but our Officers of note ran wholly into discontent, and offered up their Commissions to the *General*: But he was dark, and chewed his Tobacco, and I took notice that he was more angry at the spies that were about him (as *Gob. Alured* and others) then at the work he was doing. Hither came his amazed friends, and durst not say a word to him: But I was not only amazed but inwardly repented of what I had said to him at *York*: (imagining that my words, then, were not only for his safety, but for his honour) *not to have the game taken out of his Mines*

But no accident of War, (no not if we had engaged into blood against *Lambert*) could have more fully assured his Army unto him; for now the *Parliament* was detestable even to Us their Restorers. That this was his own contrivance (and, if so, a Master-Piece of cunning) I have these Inducements to believe.

Scot solemnly told *Col. Wetnam*, that *Monk* offered himself to him to do this odious Action, and that the Council of State would not put him upon it, had it not been for him, who assured them that *Monk* would undertake it. Thus much *Scot* alleged for himself to *Wetnam*, who charged the Change of the Government upon this Miscarriage: *Scot* had little reason to dissemble (you may be sure) when he saw his day was lost, and his life too; for he sat upon his Sovereign's. That *Scot* thus excused himself to *Wetnam*, I will name my Voucher; viz. *Dr. Barrow* (the Judge Advocate of his Majesties Army and Guards) a Gentleman who well deserved of the General for his prudence and integrity; for he was highly serviceable to him from his first declaring against the Army, and so continued. Nay I soon after modestly asked the General how he was engaged to undertake this detestable piece of service; he merrily answered me, *This was a Trick you knew not of, and I do assure you that I could not have done ne my Business so soon with out it, and possibly not at all.*

So I confessed that his wisdom outwitted my expectations; for I thought he would at first have lodged his Colours within the walls of *London*: yet true it is that it was easie for

for him to foresee that the City, upon his coming to Town, would run into discontents; for they looked upon him as a Lover of his Countrey's *Freedom*, and therefore judged that he would not endeavour to uphold a power that was not only *usurped*, but *contemptible* and *ridiculous*; they taking it in a great disdain, that a bare Remnant of a House of Commons legally dissolved, should give Laws to their Fellow-Subjects; supporting themselves by an Army, the great Officers of which put them in and out, and out and in at their pleasure. I knew too, that he would lay hold of the first advantage against the *Men of Westminster*; and advantages, besides this, could but not be offered. For they longed to fall upon the sequestration of all those Gentlemen who had been in *Booth's Conspiracy*. Now the General could not in honour see them perish, because himself was concerned in it, neither was he without his suspicions that some could prove it against him; beside that his power was not long lived, and he must have soon found it so, were it but from his Fellow Commissioners for governing the Army, whose Interests were bound up with that of the *Parliament*.

- On Fryday *February* the 10th. the General returned from the City to *Whitehall*, and his *Scottish Army* to their quarters in the Suburbs, and *Westminster*: This some Members of the

Counsel of State signified they were displeased at; saying that his Return was without their orders. And in truth it was against them: for he was to stay there till further Order, and they had more work for him there: Thus would the *Parliament* have rewarded this City for their assistance against the late King!

At this time the *Anabaptists* and such like *Sectaries* in and about the City (who were afraid of Peace and a National Interest) took heart at the pulling down of the City Gates, and fell to remonstrating to the *Parliament*, that none were fit to bear any Office civil or military, that would not abjure *Charles Stuart*, and his Title and Family, This was understood to have been the artifice of some *Abjurers* in the *Counsel of State*, to win over assistance to their narrow and almost despised Party: And could they have gained the point of encouraging Petitioners of this nature; I doubt not to say but that the *Counsel of State* would have given a List to the *Parliament* it self, as Traitors to their Trust, because they were such squeemish rebels, as not to abjure the heirs of the Crown. By this means to have engrossed the Sovereignty to themselves, would have been no hard matter; had but *Monk* been their friend in reality, as in appearance he was their Servant, and the Executioner of their odious Orders.

These *Sectaries* most grossly flatter'd the *Parliament*

liament in their petition, and renowned them for their glorious actions; tho these were the very men, who but a few weeks before had been of another temper, being *Lambert's* confidants, and the *Parliaments* Enemies. It was further observed by us, in this little time we had been in Town, that the Parliament began to encourage those vvho had appeared in the *English Army* against them *Ludlow* sate in the house, though he had been accused of Treason by the *Irish Officers*: and it vvas said that some of the house kept Correspondence vvith *Lambert* himself. This our Officers looked upon as done in diffidence of them and their *General*, who had been their restorers, and had approved themselves their faithful Servants in the day of Tryal. Souldiers are not ordinarily that crafty kind of men that can dissemble injuries: and some of them vv ere so just to their Country, as not to think it vvorth their pay to uphold only a few men in an arbitrary Tyranny, contrary to the Sense of the whole Nation. Of this sort the boldest came to the *General*, dutifully and freely to represent to him the State of things, and that some speedy remedy was of necessity to be thought upon and applyed. The *General* was too wise to looke this advantage: but however seemed to require time to deliberate on it. But they earnestly replied, that if some thing were not forthwith done; to bear their witness against such pro-

ceedings, he would soon be lost, and *they* vvith *him*; but *he* in the first place, because he had novv more enemies in the *Counsel of State, and Parliament* too, then he dreamt of: for tho he had executed his Orders against the City, and thereby rendred himself odious to the free born people: yet the *manner* of doing it was such, as gave him suspected to his *Taskmasters*.

The *General* yielded at length to their Fears and Counsels, and the rather; for that he was assured of the Tower of *London* the Lieutenant of it (*Col. Morley*) having before offered it him. This the noble Colonel had done in the City, (pitying the consternation of its Citizens) when he saw what work was doing what influence it would have upon the Country. In all secrefely therefore it was debated & soon agreed upon, that a Letter should be sent to the Parliament the day foilowing, and late at night Orders were issued that our Officers (the more principal of them) should meet early at the *Generals* lodgings the next morning: and they came accordingly: To whom the occasion of their conyening was expounded by our *Secretaries* of the night, who had set up, and penned the Letter to the Parliament. Their assent to it was desired, the *General* being present: he subscribed it first, and *they* in their Order setting their hands to it. The tenor of this Letter was very peremptory, viz. *That*
by

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by the Friday following they should send forth writs to fill up all the vacant places in the house; and when that was done, fix a determinate time to their own sitting; and give place to another Parliament.

This now was a State of War between the *Scotish Army*, and the *Parliament*. Heretofore when *Cromwell* and *Lambert* turned these few Members of the House of Commons out of their place at *Westminster*, they did but re-spite the exercise of their power, and it was their good chance to return again to it: For their Servants, who so usurped upon them, drove on the same interest still with themselves, and ruled by the force of an Army, which protected the Lives and Fortunes of these Parliament men: Now all of them being equally guilty; they were never questioned for what they had done, but enjoyed the Peace and Liberty of Subjects, even when by their own Indiscretion, and the restless Ambition of the great Officers of the Army, they lost the Sovereignty: Whereas this Letter now forced them to be their own Executioners within their walls of Empire: For to fill up the house with new elected Members out of the Country, at a time when every village was so exasperated against them, in plain *English* amounted to no less. For they were sure to be outvoted, and consequently lyable to be questioned.

The *General* sent this Letter to the house by two Collonels (*Clobery* and *Lydcot*) and not staying for an Answer to it, puts himself at the head of his Army, marcheth into *Finsbury-Fields*, and from thence sends to the Lord Maior of *London*, desiring that quarters might presently be set out for his men within the City. Our Quarter-Masters had no Orders to intimate the breach that was made between our Army and the *Parliament*: and so they found the Lord Maior of *London* somewhat astonished at this Message: But he soon after understood the end of his coming: for some of the Citizens were earlier informed of it. As soon as the *General* left *Whitehall*, I went into the City; and not knowing where he would quarter that night, I came to the *Three Tuns* before *Guildhall*; where the *General* had quartered two nights before. I entered the *Tavern* with a Servant, and a *Port-manteau*, and asked for a room; which I had scarce got into, but Wine followed me as a present from some Citizens, desiring leave to drink their Mornings draught with me, I accepted of the Civility, but in requital of their Wine and Company was asked what news, and what might be the meaning of my so returning hither. I freely told them that we were not now the same men that we were two days ago; and that this they should find ere night, to the full satisfaction of the injuries done them.

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them. The Goodmen were transported into Joy; and most of them left me and their Wine and all, to run and communicate this hopeful news.

A Citizen of good quality (*Mr. William Stanly*) stayed longer; and invited me to his house to Diner, and most courteously lodged me there, during the *General's* stay in the City: For it hapned not to be far from his quarters. This I mention out of a grateful remembrance of his hospitallity.

The *General* came late into the City, and his army later; staying for the Lord *Maiors* return to his Messengers for quatering his men; when they entered, they were welcomed as the Restorers of their Country freedom; Bells, Bonfires, Wine and several Largesses of money among our Soldiers, being the attestations of the Citizens joy. This was *Saturday Febr, 11th.* renowned for the night of burning the *Rump* (for thus the young men, who were harrors of this long usurped Power, called the *Parliament*) Butchers had quick Trading for their *Rump*; and many *Cooks* lost their Fees.

The *Parliament* closely debated upon the Letter sent them; and wisely dissembling the insolency of *Monk* and his Officers, in prescribing rules to them; gave them thanks for their joyne care with them of the Commonwealth; assuring them over and above, that they were considering of qualifications for the next *Parliament*.

lament. With this Message came *Scot, Robinson* with some others that evening into the City to the *General*: adding that his return to *Whitehall* was required by the *Counsel of State*, (it being for their safety) and that if he and his Army kept their old quarters, they would be better satisfied with their proceeding; (being near them) but if his Army continued in the City, they were afraid (they said) that it would be debauched from its obedience to the *Parliament*; they looking upon the Citizens as *Enemies* to the Government. The *General* gave them no other reply, but that if the *Parliament* will do as they are desired in my Letter, they need not fear but all things will go well.

The noise of *Scot* and *Robinson's* coming to the *General* so alarm'd the *Prentices* in the streets, that they were searched for as strictly as were the *Spies* that came to *Ferico*. The *General* was now at the *Bulls head Tavern* in *Cheapside*; the streets were thronged: *Mr. Gumble* and I were in a Coach, that was becalmed in a crowd, coming from *Guildhall*; where the *General* had been to expound the end of his coming: now the *Prentices* went, it seems, from Coach to Coach in quest of *Scot* and *Robinson*; and when they looked into ours, they cryed out here they are. Plenty of dirt was brought against us in shovels from the kennel, we defending our selves with the Curtains of the Coach as well as we could, till the mistake was

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was over; which soon was by the means of our Officers. But the young men's fury was much longer liv'd: for, in roasting the *Rump*, it was scarce cool till Sunday morning.

There was now a report, that the *Parliament* had taken away the *General's* Commission: And there was something of Truth in it too: for upon the Letter sent them, which so much threatened their very *Being*, they called for the names of their Commissioners for governing of their Army, retrenched two of them, and constituted only five (of which *Monk* was one and) of which number three were a *Quorum*: But it being unhappily moved whether *Monk* should be of it, it was carried in the Negative: So tho his Commission was not formally voted from him (for that they durst not do) yet virtually it was; and *Monk* and *Morley* were left to stem the Tyde against *Hazelrigg*, *Alured* and *Walton*.

The *General* that night removed from *Cheapside*, after he had disposed his men into quarters, and takes up his own at the *Glas-house*, where there was one large room set apart for him to receive the grateful visits of the Citizens: who had already forgot their yesterdays injuries: and having long before this repented that their Treasure and their Arms had been successfully employed against their Prince, and their Country; they now promised them to *Monk*, hoping for a better Issue

sue of both; and in this he did not deceive them

The *Council of State* still dissembled the affronts put upon them by their late *Vassal*, and invited him afresh to take his place among them; urging that the necessity of the Commonwealth required his presence there, and employed such men as were thought to have influence upon him.

This startled his Friends about him, and the City too, as if he intended to hearken to these Councils, and to desert them. This was only the effect of his Native Cunning, that so the Men of *Whitehall* might not wholly despair of him; for he gained time by it, he being to fix his Army for his new Designs, which in one day could not be brought to part with its Principles and prejudices. Nay, He was so provident amidst the Throng of Business and visits; that he took care that the Saturdays-Post should carry no other News of that Day to the several parts of the Army distributed in the Country, than what was dictated by his own order.

So *Monk* intimated back to the Council of State, they were the cause of his (and of diverse others who were chosen to be of that Number) not sitting among them; for he was resolved not to take the *Oath of Objection*.

Neither was this all the advantage that he had against them; for they had now distributed

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ted several thousands of Arms out of their stores to those who by their factious Principles were known to be Enemies to their, or any Government. Those Arms he desired might be recall'd, in regard they gave offence to his Army, and to all sober men.

The *Parliament and Council of State*, upon the first revolt of *Monk*, and retiring to the City with his Army, easily saw what they were to trust to; however they still courted his return: But not trusting to the charms of words to allure him; they distributed those Arms to *Anabaptists* and *Fifth-Monarchy*, and employed Agitors in their Army (now by *Monks* successful artifice dispersed in Country Quarters) to whisper his Treason against the *Parliament*, and to give out openly, that *Charles Stuart* was like to come in.

Sir *Arthur Hazelrig* was taxed, by the General, as the Promoter of this Ill Office, but he had not the courage to own it; or (though as good a General as himself) to rendezvous his Country Army against *Monk's* in the City. *But it was Gods time!*

For now the Secluded Members of 1648 (who in the House of *Commons* had refused to serve the Army's design of the total subversion of *Monarchy* in the Royal Line) began to appear; and that not without some secret encouragement neither. The General had

had before moved it, by some of his Confidents; and he looked upon it as the easiest and safest change he could make on the sudden and most consistent with his Declaration *Scotland*.

These Gentlemen, (the General now being at *Drapers-Hall*) insist upon their Readmission, but with modesty, and prudence becoming their condition; for they were then much opposed by the Zealots of *Oligarchy*, who loved their Room better than their Company. These urged *Monk's* Declaration, when he first appeared for them against that the Army that he was for the Parliament as it sat the 11 of October: The Secluded replied, that their Readmission was no infringement of it; for the same Parliament would sit still; adding further that the Purport of that Declaration was to reduce the Military Power in Obedience to the Civil; and that they had been secluded from the House only by force of the Sword; they having no more forfeited their right of sitting there, then, had the other: It was said that, in Law, neither had any.

These were the Occurrences of the more publick remark, for about a week; at the end of which the General thought it not safe to hold his design any longer in suspense, for the Army in several parts in the Country began to grow mutinous, and some of our Officers to express their fears: wherefore he convened

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vened a select Number of both Parties, to debate upon the affair, several of his own Officers being present. The *sitting Members* had nothing to alledge (beside their Love of Poverty) but their own safety, and the Armies; the consciences of the godly, and the Sale of publick Lands; all which they feared would be disturbed by the Introduction of the *secluded Members*: But they gave satisfactory answers to all these objections, and engaged upon their *Paroll* (over and above) that they would not look upon what had been done since their Seclusion, nor disturb the propriety or pretences of any; but would amicably sit and act for the good of their Country, till by their dissolution they made way for another *Parliament*. This now was so fair a Proposition, that no *English-man* who had any sense of the distractions of these Nations, and love to the Commonwealth, could any way except gainst it: Besides that all their returns were managed with such modesty of words and behaviour, that our Officers soon entertained a very good Opinion of the secluded. Nay and many even of the sitting Members themselves, that were there present express a disposition to give way to their Readmission; only they could not give their *Votes* for it, but in the *House*. Thus ended the Conference: and in the close of it, one or two of our Officers (more discerning, or more busie than the

the rest) moved that the *Government* might be declared to be by a *Commonwealth*, and a further security devised for the Sale of the publick Lands. This pinched ; but it was artificially thuffed off by suggesting , that the *Writs* to be issued out for the next *Parliament* must necessarily run in the Name and Stile of the *Keepers of the Liberties of the Commonwealth of England* ; and that the State of publick Lands was already as secure as the *Government* could make it.

The Men at *Westminster* understanding that the *secluded Members* were like to keep House with them again , began to be very froward upon it , as if they should not have Elbow-Room enough ; yet they durst not remonstrate against it , because they could not get the *Crafty General* (who was now judged capable with a little help , of giving check to the Army) out of his Hole in the City : Beside , that the Popular cry ran for a *full and free Parliament* ; This *Rump* in the last weeks debate , touching Qualifications for Members to serve in the ensuing *Parliament* , having also exasperated and incensed the People , by voting as if none were fit to serve in that capacity for the future , who had not contracted equal guilt with themselves. Now to obviate *Monk's* design to restore the *secluded Members* , some of them fell to offering at a speedy resignation of their own power ; giving
out

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out that within a few days they would dispatch the qualifications, before them, for the next *Parliament*; for they thought it not fit to resign up their authority to those who would cut their Throats: But they found it to be too late for this *Pin* to be driven forward.

For the General having gained, in appearance at least, the consent of his Officers for the resisting of the *secluded Members* upon certain conditions, they all of them that were in and about the Town, were sent for; and the *Articles* of their Readmission (which were these following read to them.

1. To settle the Command of the Armies in the Three Nations, as might best secure the common Peace and Safety of them.

2. To raise a Tax for the payment of the Arrears of the Army and Navy; and what further supplys should be found necessary for the support of the Forces, and Government of the Commonwealth.

3. To Issue forth Writs for a *Parliament*, to sit at *Westminster*, the 20 of *April* then next ensuing; and to constitute a Council of State to see this done.

4. To consent to their own Dissolution, by a time that should be limited unto them.

To which, with chearfulness, they agreed and subscribed; and before they left the place (in confidence that *Monk* was a true Patriot)

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promised

promised to make him Commander in Chief, both by Sea and Land. Thus they went away rejoycing, that they should be accounted worthy to be the Restorers of their Countrys freedom.

So on Tuesday *February* the 21, these Gentlemen met the General at *Whitehall*; (for to that end only, he returned thither) he spoke some few words to them, reminding them chiefly of their promises to him, and assuring them that he would not impose any new thing upon them, and he was as good as his word. That Morning they were conducted by Adjutant *Miller*, to take their former places in the House of *Commons*; which as soon as they enter'd, some of the *sitting Members* arose in a heat, and left the House: *Hazlerig* and others, openly cry'd out (but too late) that *Monk* was a Traytor, but *Hazlerig* met with no other punishment afterward for his *Treason*, than his own native rage and fury.

Some of the Noble *Peers* who had formerly agreed with the House of *Commons* to draw the Sword against their King, watched the Readmittance of these sculded Members, and would have entered their own House; but the General having, before, intimation of their intents, commanded *Miller* to withstand them, in case any such attempt should be made. So the surly Souldier obeyed his General

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neral's orders, though he was threatned that he did he knew not what. Now because the General owned this, one of their Lordships was afterwards, even with him, by labouring to have discovered a *Gun-Powder-Treason*; at the *Cock-Pit*.

The General had now quitted the City, and came to *Whitehall*; where in the evening he was informed of that Days Transactions of the *Parliam.* He was now his Excellency *Capt. General of all the forces of the Commonwealth, both by Land and Sea*; save only that at Sea General *Montague* had equal authority with him: In this there was a failure of Promise: but he had work enough to do at Land; and Ambition was not his aim.

This day was spent by the General, and his Officers, in signing Copies of Letters to be sent to the Commanders of the Armys in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and to several Colonels and Commanders of Garrisons in *England*; in which was signified that they had let in the *secluded Members* to the House, and the necessity of doing it, to preserve and enlarge the Interest of the *Commonwealth*; that they were still upon the same Bottom of a *free State*; that they would take care that what they had purchased at the expence of their Blood, should not be lost; that they would effectually mediate with the next *Parliament*; (to sit in *April* next) that the publick Sale of Lands should

should be confirmed; and that without another *Parliament*, the Commonwealth could not be established against pretenders; desiring their dear Brethren and Fellow Soldiers, to have a vigilant eye upon all such as should presume to abet the pretences of *Charles Stuart*, or any other single person or authority whatsoever. Then they were solicited to send up some Officer to signify their concurrence with the Lord General *Monck* and his Officers; adding further (to cry *Clink in the Close*.) that no money could have been had to pay the Arrears of the Army and Navy, without the effusion of blood, unless they had let in the secluded Members: So be it. As for our own Soldiers, they soon learned that this was the good old Cause still: this being the same Parliament that began the War against the late King.

The General went to bed that night, not late, but in a very good humour: And indeed he had good reason for it; for now he had perfected his own safety, and stood no longer in fear of being questioned for intersting himself in *Booth's* Conspiracy. I came into his Chamber, and understood he was in bed: so I was about to retire; but his Lady entertaining me with discourse, he perceived that I was in the chamber, and so commanded me to his bedside; vvhhere I found him satisfied with what he had done, and pleasant with me. I told him

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him I came (over and above the Duty of my Attendance) to give him thanks for his Dayes work. He answered me (with great courtesie of words) *No, no; This is none of your business; you but dissemble with me: You come now for somewhat else; and I believe I know for what.* I humbly asked him what he could think I came for? *Sit down then* (says he) *and I'll tell you: You come for Bishops.* He spake it not so softly, but his Lady overheard it; and mistook it as my proposal: at which she was angry. But the Curtains and the Generals Favour skreen'd me; he assuring her, that I had not spoken to him of *Bishops*. So she went off; but he detained me with this serious Discourse upon the thing, that he thought *This could never be done; for not only their Lands are sold* (says he) *but the Temper of the Nation is against them.* I told him; that as yet he could not see the Temper of the Nation; the Royal Party having judg'd it prudence not to appear openly, or make any Addresses. But since he had mentioned it, I entreated him to grant me one Request; which was, that he would not be drawn to engage *against* them: and this I thought he might safely grant me, now, who would not be ensnared to abjure the King, and the Royal Family. He paused a while; (as his manner was) and taking

me by the hand, *Well then* (said he) *so much I will promise you, that I will not be engaged against Bishops.* I thank'd him, and kissed his Hand; adding, that it was best to leave it to God's Providence and the next Parliament; when we should be able to discern the temper of the Nation in reference both to *Church and State.*

The *Secluded Members*, from all parts of the Kingdom, returned to the House of Commons; which was now open for them; of which number Mr. *Morrice* of *Devon* was one. This Gentleman was somewhat allied to the General, but more to his *Favour*, than his *Blood*; for he had a great opinion of his Prudence and Integrity. He was one that much conversed with Books, and had lately written one against the Practice of *Independent Teachers*, who would admit none in Parochial Cures, to the *Lords Supper*, but such only as, being distinguish'd by their *Separation*, were most peculiarly their own Flock. This had rendered him very grateful to the *Presbyterians*, whose Cause he seemed most to serve; for the Ministers of the *Church of England* were generally contented with the exercise of their Religion in private houses; tho' even These also, were often disturbed by Souldiers or Constables, who used to hale them from their very *Communion-Tables* up-

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on the more solemn Festivals of their despised Church; rending their Surplices, where any were used, and tearing their *Mass-Books* (for that was the Name by which the crafty *Statesman*, and the more juggling *Gospeller* taught the indiscerning Multitude to call the *English Liturgy*) into pieces.

The General, from and before the beginning of this Enterprize, had pretended to be a *Presbyterian*, (and indeed I knew his *Godmother*, who did her share too) and had not yet renounced his Faith; but now it most behoved him to appear one, and to act his part well in it; for it was his *last*: Wherefore *Mr. Morrice* was received into his House. This pleased his new Masters at *Westminster*, who were most of them of this Religion; some few only excepted, who by beholding the calamities of the Church, and their own Errours, had been converted to a better esteem of *Episcopacy*; which the Learning of *Mr. Morrice* could not but favour: so that I looked upon him to have the good Repute only of a *Presbyterian*. Him the General retained as his Elbow-Counsellor, and a State-Blind; concealing his own sense of things, and very often speaking contrary to his own thoughts, that so he might better understand the sense of others, and take

his Measures accordingly. This is a sort of Cunning which will fail no Man, who meets with the plain and open-hearted. But whether this was inherent in the General's Temper, (and consequently a Natural Wisdom) or acquir'd by living so many years, both in and under Command, among such whose Cause and Principles he hated, I will not be positive in the Determination: But I incline to believe it was the *Latter*. This I the rather mention, because it hath been said that Mr. *Morrice* found him obstinate against the King's *Restoration*. Something to this purpose was once told the General, in my hearing; (possibly with a Design to do the good man an injury) But I know how he resented it. And if *Morrice* did entertain any such Opinion, I can assure him and others, that he was not the only man that did so; for after we came to *Town*, where the General received the Visits of many worthy men, who loved their Countrey, and of whom some were then in Authority; These Gentlemen took the freedom of speaking and propounding to him what they thought expedient for the publick Good. Nor in truth have they been wanting to themselves to represent their Doings to advantage, which 'tis fit to suppose were great and real, because the rewards of them were

were such; nor ought any to envy them, because their Assistance was seasonable; they concurring with the *General* for the Redemption of their Countries Freedom. But yet I do not believe that they added any great weight to his Honourable Designs; for I will ask no leave to assume to my self this honour, that I knew his Loyalty to his Prince to be most firm, when the time to shew it was most hazardous: and I am well acquainted with the scornful Smiles and Words he used to give of such *Bravado-pretenders*, as sought to lessen his Merit.

And now the Ministers of the *Presbyterian* Perswasion daily frequented *St. James's*; they were in a hopeful expectation that all those *Sects* who had supplanted them, would with little difficulty be put under their feet; that themselves alone should inherit the Blessing; (the *Church of England* at that time being below their fear) for *Mank* was the Defender of their Faith, and had wrested the Sword out of the Armies (their Enemies) hands. And indeed he was their zealous *Votary*; for one Lords day he and his Lady went and Communicated at *Mr. Calamy's Church*; who afterward so far prevailed with him, that none were to Preach before him, but such only as he recommended. I not knowing that he had so far

far yielded to *Calamy*, consented that Dr. *Pierſon* (the now right Reverend and Learned Biſhop of *Cheſter*) ſhould Preach for me on a *Sunday* Morning. He came early to my Chamber; but as we were ready to go to Church, we found two *Ministers* (ſent from Mr. *Calamy*) come to do the work of the Day among us; but their Faces and Habits were ſtrangely diſguiſed with Mud and Dirt; for their Coach had overthrown them by the *Park-wall*, behind the *Pell-mell*. I took what care I could to render them fit to appear; and deſired that but one of them would Preach *that* Day, and the other ſhould the *next*; Mr. *Pierſon* being preſent, whom they knew. This would not ſatisſie them; nor could I prevail with the General to have him Preach, tho I got Mr. *Morrice* to be my Advocate, who kindly repreſented the Learning and peaceable temper of Mr. *Pierſon*. To this I might add a *Faſt* kept at *St. Pauls*, where Dr. *Gauden* preached; his very Text pointing at more than the Return of the *Secluded Members*. It was *Jer. 6. 14. They have healed alſo the hurt of the Daughter of my People ſlightly; ſaying, Peace, Peace, when there is no Peace.* This Doctor had, before, bewailed the lamentable ſtate of the Church of *England* in a Printed *Folio*; being an elegant Preacher, and dying afterwards Biſhop of

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of *Exon.* So much for the Affairs of the Church.

But the *Civil* and *Military* Affairs were upon the Wheel of Motion; for the *Parliament* constituted a new *Council of State*, took off the *Engagement* that was upon the File against the *King* and *House of Lords*, and had been imposed on the Subject, *Anno* 1648. when the *Army* (after the Murder of *Charles the First*) had set up the Remainder of the *House of Commons* for a *Free State*: But the *Solemn League and Covenant*, (which was for *Anarchy*, in some sence, but, in all, against *Prelacy*) hung still on the Walls of the *House of Commons*, with the Names of the Renowned Subscribers; being left to the Censure of the next *Parliament*.

The *General* kept a vigilant eye upon his Enemy the *Army*; set new *Colonels* at the Head of most *Regiments*; and removed their inferiour *Officers*, as they were represented to be either *Troublesome*, or *Disaffected*. But the *Parliament* eased him of much trouble, by settling the *Militia*, in which neither *Independent*, *Anabaptist*, *Fifth-Monarchy-man*, or *Quaker*, were allowed any sort of Command; a *Cavalier* being now become a less odious Name. Thus were things carried all over the Kingdom, and a fair prospect given of the *King's Return*,
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all the ambitious Officers of the Marching Army being laid aside.

Col. *Overton*, the Governour of *Hull*, whose Ambition was equal with *theirs*, thought this a fit time to appear, and draw over the Malecontents of the Army (which every day increased in Number) to his Party. His Garrison was such, and so placed, as to render his Design practicable; and his Hatred to the General was known to be most implacable; for about two years before, when *Monk* Commanded in Chief in *Scotland*, and *Overton* as Major General of the Foot, next under him, (*Cromwel* then being *Protector*) he had drawn several Officers (Zealots for a *Commonwealth*) into a Conspiracy against him, *New-years Day* in the Morning was the time agreed upon to surprize *Monk* at *Dalkeith*; and the Attempt was not thought *easie* only, but *certain*. So the Question was moved, what they should do with him when they had him? The most desperate (*Syndercomb* was in the Conspiracy) were for killing him upon the place. But one of the Godly judging that it would be a scandal to them to kill a man in cold blood, when he was in their power; openly protested that he would discover the Plot, if they proceeded upon that Resolution: Whereupon the Conspirators broke up the Meeting for that time. Now because this inter-

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interposition of Conscience saved the General's *Life*; and probably some of his Servants also; I will gratefully mention the man: It was Mr. *Oates*, then a Chaplain of Note among those *Conspirators*, and afterwards Beneficed in a small Living in the *Diocess* of *Chichester*. May the able, who are grateful to the Memory of the Duke of *Albemarle*, be disposed to give him a better.

Overton from *Hull* (a place fatal to the old King) sent forth his *Emissaries* to insinuate the appearance of *Monarchical Government*; (for some men only hate *Kings* because they are not *Kings* themselves) and to tell the Souldiery that the abandoned Interest of *Charles Stuart* did seem to shine in the face of the publick Transactions, Conjuring the *Brethren* in the Army, (who remained faithful to the *True Cause*) to signify their concurrence with him. Several Copies of his Letters were dispersed in the *North*; and one of them was sent to the General by Col. *Fairfax* (Governour of *York*) where the General had many True Friends (beside him) that were active to suppress all such practices: As Col. *Bethel*, *Smith*, and others.

The General did not only use his own Authority, to command *Overton* out of *Hull*, but recommended the matter to the Council

of *State* also; who sent thither Col. *Alured*, and Major *Smith*. The first prevaricated in his Trust, and went privately to the Governor, staying late with him at night. But *Smith* getting Intelligence of this, with Sums of Money borrowed in the Town, being he was well known there) forthwith bought off the Souldiers, at the *Parade*, to their obedience to the *Parliament*. So that *Overton* was forced to obey the General's Orders, and came up to Town; tho' he soon became so far reconcil'd to *Monarchical Interests*, (his own expression) that he declared for *King Jesus*. But his Souldiers rather followed *Smith's* Money: And the Parliament knowing what Money would do with such people, Voted no less a Tax upon *England* and *Wales*, for six Months together, than an hundred thousand pounds per *menssem*. Now tho' they did not follow the Examples given of extending their *Assessments* upon *Scotland* and *Ireland*, yet the Generals care reached even these also; In *Scotland* he had not forgot his Trusty Friend Major General *Morgan*; by a more Authoritative Commission constituting him to command there, and sending him more strength.

In *Ireland* so many persons of eminent quality appeared for him, that he apprehended no danger thence, either of a present

sent disturbance, or of playing an after-game distinct from themselves: Though this in *Scotland*, they might have done, had not *Morgan* been true to *Monk*. But at home, though he had made a very large reformation in the Army; yet he thought not his time ripe enough, as yet, for the displacing of some, who now gave him a trouble.

All the Officers of the Army, who kept their Commissions, had under their hands signed their concurrence for introducing the *seised Members*, and owned the necessity of it; but still they would understand their obedience to the *Parliament*, to extend no further, than as they were bottomed upon a *Free State*. For this was the Phrase of *Monk* and his Officers Letter to them; which intimated their readiness to take care that *these* should not be lost. But now they were not satisfied of the good intentions of the *Parliament* touching this *Government*: nor much better of the *Generals*, who had refused the offer of the *Honour* and *Mannor* of *Hampton-Court*; (the only Portion of Crown-Lands yet unfold) and possessed by *Cromwel*, when he assumed the Title of *Protector*. For the old *sitting Members* had craftily proposed the giving of this to him: and the *Secluded* could not fairly withstand the motion of rewarding him. But the General, upon his refusing the Donation of these Lands, as a
House

House too great for him, was recompensed with a gift of twenty thousand Pounds. Yet this Non-acceptance rendered him still more suspected. Now these Officers when they saw the General had refused these Crown-Lands, and even the dignity of the Crown itself, when offered by some who best understood their own safety; combined into dangerous resolutions, and contrived a Paper to be universally subscribed (presenting it to the General for his subscription in the first place) the Purport of which was,

To declare that the Government of these Three Nations should be a *Commonwealth*, without *Kingship* or any other single person by what Name or Title soever dignified or distinguished: And that this present *Parliament* should be required to pass this into an *Act*, as a *Fundamental Constitution*, not to be shaken or questioned by future *Parliaments*; and that the Army ought, upon no other Terms, to maintain their Authority. These Officers did assemble very daringly before the General, Col. Okey being their Prolocutor: This Gentleman was a better Souldier than an Orator, beside that his Life lay at Stake, having sat as Judge upon the King's. He was also a known Strickler for the *Commonwealths* Party, and but lately as much a General as *Monk* himself; neither did he want either a courage or possibly a Party of the Army to follow

follow him. Wherefore the General did not esteem it prudent to ruffle in words, though he was resolved not to gratifie their request, by subscribing to the Paper. So that *Commissary Clargis* (for so now, he was of the *Musters*) was put upon undertaking the debate; for he had the *Generals* good opinion, as favouring his design: And indeed it concerned him to deserve it; both their *Interests* being bound up in the same bottom. I hapned to be present at the debate; which *Clargis* managed with much resolution, and dexterity of words, laying before them their own danger, in making such an Address at that time to the *Parliament*, in regard This was the very *Parliament* that would not be frighted with their *Arms* or *Impeachments* of Treason before; much less now, when all sober men saw the Inconveniency of being Governed by an Army: further Insinuating, that the *General* and his Officers vvere to prescribe unto them: that the *Parliament* had an Authority, in which themselves by their subscription did acquiesce; that they could vote the *General*, and whom else they thought fit, out of their *Commands*; and vwhen that vvas done, pass a vote for their own *Dissolution*, vvithout appointing the issuing out of *Writs* for the succeeding *Parliament*: for if the *General* (he said) vvould break his promise of not disturbing them, they might very vvell break theirs for calling another *Parliament*:

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And

And that there would be no fear of a *Civil Government*, because none to assume it, (unless they would trust *Richard Cromwell*.) the *General* having refused it, as some of themselves well knew, who had made him an offer of it, the reasons these *General* approved of: and added, that he would rather be torn in pieces by wild horses, than be so treacherous to his Country's freedom.

The Debate was long, and not without some heat of words; but after our Officers had spent their Fears and Jealousies of losing the *Good Old Cause*, the *General* with Gravity and Calmness admonished them, that it was contrary to the Discipline of an Army to meddle with Civil Government; That they and he were under the Command of the *Parliament*, their Superiors; That he did not doubt but the next *Parliament* would quiet all their Apprehensions; and that *this* could not hurt them, for that they were upon the point of dissolving themselves: then he severely commanded his Officers to have no more of these Meetings, without his privacy; soon after removing some of them from their Commands. But the next trouble that the *General* found, was from the *Parliament* it self; several of whose Members were offering to break the Articles of their Admission, and not to yield to the calling
of

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of another Parliament. Mr. *Prin* spake it openly, That if the King must come in it was safest for them that he should come in by *their* Votes who had made the War against his Father. Whereupon *Prin* was sent for, and admonished to be quiet; and it was the business of Mr. *Morrice* to keep this expiring Session of Parliament steady, and clear from intermeddling with the change of the *Government*; in which case he did excellent Service, punctually observing the Directions of the *General*, who so passionately longed for their Dissolution, that at last he took the Liberty to mind them of it; they having done his work. So they authorized the Issuing out of *Writs* for another Parliament, which was to Meet the 25th. of *April* next, at *Westminster* (their Promise being, that it should be the 20th.) But before they broke up, they Vote (to Justifie themselves) That the *General* should give no Commission to any Officer to serve in the Army, who should not declare in these Words.

I N. do Acknowledge and Declare,
That the War undertaken by both Houses of Parliament in their Defensive part, against the Forces raised in the Name of the late King, was Just and Lawful.

And Ordered, That the Commission-Of-

ficers should further Declare, That they believed *Magistracy* and *Ministry* to be the *Ordinances* of God. By *this* may *Posterity* understand to what a fine Pass their prosperous Arms had brought Three Kingdoms.

And there was a *Second* like to the *First*, viz. That all and every Person and Persons, who have advised, aided, abetted or assisted in any War against the Parliament, since the first of January 1641, he, they or their Sons shall be incapable to be Elected to serve as Members of the next Parliament, unless he or they have since manifested their good Affections to this Parliament: The longest Day will have an end; and this Long Parliament Dissolved themselves March the 17th. But as for their Votes, they were no more regarded than dead men's Shoes; the Countrey hastening to their Elections, as the *Writs* came down.

The General being at St. James's, was now besieged with *Business* and Visits; his own he very well knew how to dispatch; and I do affirm that in all my several years of Attendance on him, it was rare that ever he left any thing of the Day to be done on the *Morrow*: Nay, at Night, when he found his *Secretaries* offered him nothing, he used to ask if any thing more was to be done? chiding them, that they should be
 sooner

fooner weary of Writing, than he of Dictating. But Visits (tho' fit to be paid to his Honour and Authority) were a new Employment; of which the most weighty at that time, was the Address of Sir *John Greenville*. He had before made his Applications, as others had done; and that without suspicion too; they being publick. And though *Greenville* had the Misfortune to be a known *Cavalier*, yet he was *Monk's* near Kinsman. But as near as he was, he could not gain an opportunity of having any Conference with him; for though he would often spin out his Visits to an extraordinary length, in expectation of the Rooms being cleared, by the breaking up of the Company; yet so soon as ever it was, and a convenience offered of unfolding part of his Errand, the General (well knowing the reason of *Greenville's* long Attendance,) would immediately rise from his Chair, and say, *Good Night Cousin; 'tis late*: or otherwise excuse himself, by pretending Business. But Sir *John* having been so often frustrated, and being impatient till he could give the King his Master some further assurances of the General's good Intentions, than what Mr. *Monk* (who said no more to him than that he was under an Oath of Secresie with his Brother) could afford him: At last be-

thought himself of making his Application to Mr. *Morrice*, by his Mediation to obtain the favour of a little private Discourse with the *General*, to whom he was to communicate a Negotiation of great importance. *Morrice* gave particular heed to what he said, and acquainted the *General* with it; but he refused to have any secret Converse with him, in regard that being a known *Cavalier*, notice would be taken of it, should he be admitted to any such privacy as desired. Yet he Ordered *Morrice* to wait upon his Cozen, to try if he could learn of what quality his Business was; and to make his report accordingly; giving him leave to assure him in his Name, that he was Authoriz'd to receive his Message (of what secrecie soever it might be) and he promised to return the *General's* Answer to it. This *Morrice* earnestly pressed *Green-vile* to do, but he refused the Proposal, and would not give him the least intimation of his business; only telling him that it concerned none but the *General* himself; and yet him so very much, that without all further delay he must necessarily impart it to him; and in case he still obstinately persisted to deny him a private Hearing, he was resolved to speak to him where-ever he should meet him next. Upon *Morrices* reporting of this to the *General*, he was inwardly

wardly pleased at it; so the next night was appointed for disclosing this Secret,

Greenvile came to *Morrices* Chamber at *St. James's*; whither the General upon *Morrice's* intimation, soon after came likewise. Sir *John Greenvile* and the General being now alone (and *Morrice* Door-keeper to the Conference) he addressed himself to the General in this purport of words; (they are his own) That "he was infinitely obliged to his Excellency, for giving him this opportunity of discharging himself of a Trust of great importance both to himself, and the whole Kingdom, that had been long deposited in his hands; and that whatsoever became of him, he thought himself very happy to have this good occasion of performing his Duty in obeying the Commands of the King his Master. At the same instant, he presented the General with a Letter from his Majesty, and produced another directed to himself, as also the Commission which he had from his Majesty, to Treat with him.

The General stept back; and (holding the Paper in his Hand) with a frowning Countenance demanded of him how he durst to speak to him in such a Matter, without considering the danger he was to

run into? But, Sir John's Answer was, That he had long since duly considered this matter, with all the danger that might attend it; which was not sufficient yet, to deter him from the performance of his duty in this particular, any more than in all others, which he had chearfully undergone at his Majesties Command; but that he was the more encouraged to undertake this, in regard his Excellency could not but remember the Message he received in Scotland, by his Brother. Whereupon, the General without any other Reply, approached him with a pleasing Aspect; and embracing him in his Arms, said, *Dear Cousin, I thank you with my heart for the Prudence, Fidelity, Care and Constancy you have shewed in this great Affair; and I am much pleased also at your resolute secrecie in it; for could I have understood that you had reveal'd it to any body living, since you first trusted my Brother with it, I would never have Treated with you; which now I shall most willingly; and with you the rather, because you are one of my nearest Kinsmen, and of a Family to which I owe many obligations.* So the General read the King's Letters, and the Commission; for which he said, *I hope the King will forgive what is past, both in my Words and Actions, according to the Contents of his Gracious Letter; for my heart was ever faithful to him,*
but

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but I was never in a condition to do him Service till this present; and you shall assure his Majesty that I am now not only ready to obey his Commands, but to Sacrifice my Life and Fortune in his Service. To witness this, I call this honest man from the Door. So he called Mr. Morrice to him, who by this time could not but understand the Design of *Greenviles* coming to the General. *Morrice* likewise chearfully embraced the Proposal, and was assistant in it. Sir *John* now intreated the General to send some Confident of his own to the King; which the General willingly yielded to; but told him the *Confident* must be himself; for he would send no Letters as yet, for fear of the worst; and without them, the King had no reason to give credit to a Messenger from him: tho' his Majesty might well believe his own, whom he had employed to him. Wherefore at the next Conference Instructions were prepared, which *Greenvile* wrote out; and after he had diligently perused them, and fixed them in his Memory, as he was desired, the General threw the Paper into the fire, with charge not to commit his Instructions again to Paper till he came to *Brussels* (where the King then was) and there to communicate them to none but his Majesty.

This is that Noble Sir *John Greenvile*,
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(the now Earl of *Bath*) to whom the Author hath Dedicated this *Memorial*, proclaiming him a Witness of the Designed Loyalty of General *Monk*; (the late Duke of *Albemarle*) whose successful Negotiation with him, began and compleated the Restoration of our present Sovereign, and with *Him*, of our Laws and Liberties, which we now See and enjoy. But there was yet more Work to be done.

The Officers of the Army, who from their several Quarters in the Country, came to Town, to hear and make new disturbance, were remanded to their distinct Charges by the *Council of State*: But men of greater Quality than these Officers (and by some thought to be of a greater guilt too) were very earnest with the General, that the King, if he must be brought in by the next Parliament, should be admitted to his Throne upon no other than the Concessions of the Isle of *Wight*. These were Articles too streight for *Monarchy*, and wholly destructive of the Constitution of the *Church*, as formerly (and now) governed; *Charles* the First having yielded to them when he was a Prisoner in *Carisbrook-Castle*, 1648. And because the *Parliament* then Voted them to be sufficient Grounds for a Treaty with the King, the Army turned out the *Voters*, who were afterwards called

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called by the Name of the *Secluded Members*. But in truth even *These* with the *Sitting Members* too, were not the whole Body of the House of *Commons*; for a great portion of it, and a greater of the *Lords*, had deserted them at *Westminster*; and acted as a Parliament, at *Oxford*; and had his late Majesties Arms been prosperous, might have been esteemed as such: And why they were not, let others tell the reason. But to make Mirth with that *Treaty*, of which one of the Preliminary Articles for a Peace (as propounded by the Parliament) was, that neither they nor their Armies were Rebels in making War against the King. To this his late Majesty answered that then *He* and *His Army* were. To this a late Noble Lord replied, *Nay, Sir, if you are thereabout, there is no peace for us with your Majesty, but the peace of God, which is past all understanding; from which God of his Mercy deliver us.* But it behoved the charitable to pray that his Lordships Prayer were not heard, for the Blood that was spilt; for in one and the same Commonwealth there cannot be understood to be two *Sovereigns*, who can equally write *Dei Gratia*; and no less Power than what is delegated from God, and so bears the Sword, can warrant the shedding of Blood.

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The love of Private Interests had for a long time obstructed the *Publick*, which though something more enlarged, was not as yet fully at Liberty; the *secluded Members*, before their Dissolution, having taken what care they could to have preserved their own share in the Government. That which was called the *Commonwealth-Party*, had at that time little other Interest than what was bound up in the Army, which had been modelled by the General with new Officers, and such old ones as had served in the *Parliament's* War till the year 1648. And the Souldiers and inferiour Officers were not able to make any great or dangerous mutinies, as being left destitute of authority to countenance them: Beside that the Country and City *Militia*, were of a temper quite different from the Army, and became no contemptible Ballance against them. The Royal Party who had served the King, as yet bore very little sway; though their hopes were pregnant; depending upon the Issue of the next *Parliament*: This being the face of things; to sollicite the General, that the King's Restauration might be hampered with his Fathers Concessions in the *Isle of Wight*; was no Idle or unseasonable Proposition, for such as found themselves concerned to look about them. But the General, at first moving, expressed a resolution of his professed obduracy to adhere to a *Commonwealth*

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monwealth; though at last (in regard the Proposers, some of them, were Men of Honour, and all of *Eminency*) he seemed to be conquer'd into a concurrence; but so as to hint this to be the utmost Line that he could or would advance too, in favour of the King. This stiffness endeared him the more to the Proposers, as encreasing their hopes that he would not deceive them.

But soon after; the General's danger was freely represented unto him, should he by yeilding to such Proposals, anticipate the next Parliament; because in probabilitie it would bring a fresh War upon the Nation: for if upon the opening of the next Parliament, they should vote for the King's Return, and he assent to it no otherwise than upon the like of *Wights* Articles, and they under the terror of his Arms not be able *otherwise* to bring him in; It would take up much time for Messengers to pass and repass the Seas; and for Articles (as in all other Treaties) to be explained; so that whilst these things were transacting, the Army might get Breath, and opportunity to revolt from him.

The Proposers rejoiced that they had so far prevailed with the General; and sent an *Express* of their own to the King at *Brussels*; representing to him the great service they had done his Majesty in prevailing with *Monk*,
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(notwithstanding his being so obstinate a *Commonwealthsman*) not to oppose his Majesties return upon his Fathers concessions in the Isle of *Wight* and no otherwise: and that though these were hard Terms, and assented unto by his Father in his necessity, yet they belought his Majesty that he would not now think hard of them, least his refusal might exclude him from the Crown.

But so it fell out that their service and message were postponed, for Sir *John Greenville* was got before him to the King, to whom he had related *Monk's* acceptance of his service. This ought to be supposed most welcome news to his Majesty; and the more, because the General had required no conditions of Restraint to the Royal Power, as none of reward; Inasmuch as the King upon the receipt of the Letter from these Proposers (which he shewed to Sir *John Greenville*) merrily told him, little do they in England think, that General *Monk* and I are upon so good terms; for I myself could hardly have believed it till your arrival; which hath brought me such happy news, and with so great secrecy too, from the General of my Restoration, without conditions, even beyond our expectation here, or the belief of all our friends in England, excepting your self, who was alone employed in it.

Afterwards when the King was recognized
by

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by both Houses of *Parliament* (it was the very first day that the Regal Authority had been so owned) several persons of honour (some who had abetted the *King's* and others the *Parliament's* cause) dined with the *General* at *St. James's*. And there arose a hot contest about the Lawfulness of the late War, and whether the *King* should be admitted to return with or without conditions. I observed the *General* to be silent, tho some hard words had passed at his Table, so he required me to say Grace rather than he would stay out his *Dinner*, and the *Controversy*.

But to return to the matter, *Greenvile's* negotiation was managed with such secrecie, and his Journey to *Brussels* was so speedy and fortunate, that few knew of it before his arrival there; and those who did, and went in his Company, did not so much as suspect the errand he was sent on. The *King*, upon intimation of his being come, went privately to his Lodgings, and was alone with him; and *Greenvile* discovered his Instructions from the *General* to his Majesty; by whom he was believed; tho he brought no Letter. For the *King* (to debate what was to be done) consulted with his Lord Chancellor *Hide*, the Marquess of *Ormond*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, in the presence of *Greenvile*. And in this privy Council *Monks* Commission Was signed to be *Cap. General* of all his Majesties Land Forces in the
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three Kingdoms, and publick dispatches; according to instructions given; were framed, and signed here. Likewise then the King removed from the *Spanish* to the *United Netherlands*, according to the advice given by the General to *Greenvile*: and this was done both in haste and Privacy. His Majesty being come to *Breda*, dated his publick dispatches from thence; and there Sir *John Greenvile* received them from his Majesty, in order to his returning for *England*: but the King would not send him back empty, and without a mark of his favour.

Sir *John Greenvile* when he came first to *Brussels*, and had related *Monks* resolution to espouse the Kings Cause and Interest humbly desired his Majesties Pardon, if in his negotiation, he had exceeded his Instructions of reward: To which the King graciously answered, that whatever he had promised in his name, should be punctually performed upon his Restauration: But *Greenvile*, then informed his Majesty, that he had propounded to the General 100000*l* *pr. annum* for ever, as his Majesties donative to him and his Officers, with the Office of Lord High Chancellor, and Constable of *England*, for Himself, and the Nomination of any other the great Offices of the Crown. All which *Monk* had generously refused, saying that he would not tie the King to any terms of reward

ward; and that he took more comfort and consent in that now he hoped he was able to do his Majesty and Country service, then in expectations of greatness. Besides that the General had given him this as a special charge that he should not propound any thing to his Majesty as a gratification for service, either for himself or for any Friend or Officer of his, upon His accompt. The King then pressed *Greenville* to know what he should do for Him; but he, after the General's example, nobly refused all Proposals of reward for the service in which he had been so eminently successful, till he should happily see his Majesty at *White-hall*. However the King had then put up into *Greenville's* Pocket (though unknown to him) a Warrant under his Hand and Seal for an *English Earldom*; and the assurance of 3000l *pr. annum* for ever, to support his Honour, together with a Promise to pay his and his Fathers Debts, which had been contracted in the War Time in the service of his Majesty and his Royal Father.

So *Greenville* was sent back by his Majesty to the General, and brought with him (besides the above mentioned Commission) his Majesties Seals and Signet by which the General was empowered to make a *Secretary of State*; which he conferred upon Mr. *Morrice* by the advice of Sir *John Greenville*: *Morrice*, upon the Kings Return was soon after
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toward the latter end of *May*, (*Greenvils* return to the General being about the beginning of *April*) was Knighted and confirmed in his place of Secretary of State. Now besides his publick Letters, which were reserved to be communicated; he brought with him a private one to the General from his Majesty; written with his Maiesties own hand; to this the General returned an answer to by *Mr. Bernard Greenville* Brother to *Sir John*, who at this time could not be spared to go over again to his Majesty, because the Parliament was approaching, and he to present to both Houses his Maiesties Letters and Declarations: Wherefore *Bernard Greenville* (that this secret negotiation might be continued in the Family) was thought to be the most fit, and the safest express that could be sent. And indeed he could not but be as welcome to his Majesty, for he brought now the assurances under his hand of the *Generals* resolution, to adhere to the Kings cause against all opposition whatever. I therefore notifie this, because it was the first that the General durst adventure to his Majesty; Nay and even this was with the soonest, for *Lambert*, by the secret connivance the *Inferior Trustees* of the Tower, was escaped out of Prison: this was the joy and triumph of such as designed an *after-game* by the Sword, for he had the good luck to be beloved
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by the Souldiery; for which reason *Oliver Cromwel*, when he was Protector, revered but displaced him; as divining that he would not only tread in his *Steps*, but upon his *Heels*.

The News of *Lambert's* escape soon came to us at *St. James's*, and almost at the same time a private information where he was hid. Thither the General sent, and found it true; but he was got away before, to set up the Trade of War in the *Country*. Wherefore as soon as ever it was advertised where *Lambert* was, the General prepared (or seemed to do it at least) for a *March*: From which he was easily prevailed upon to desist by those who represented unto him the necessity of keeping the Town, in regard the Common Souldiers of the Army were not yet fixed to him, however he had modelled the Officers of it: and indeed many of *these* had already subscribed, that they would rest satisfied in what the Parliament should determine about *Government*, as did all of them afterwards, who continu'd in their commands; and these Subscriptions, not long after, were required even of private Souldiers. *Lambert* having gained some accomplices to his Designs, they shifted Quarters into *Northampton* and *Warwickshires*, to pick up more; all whom the Council of State declared Traytors: But Col. (afterward Sir *R. Ingoldbys*) made them such;

for he took *Lambert* Prisoner, and sent him up, in *Easter-week*, to the *Council of State*. Here it was that I first and last saw this *Renowned Captain*, but now a *Captive*; (to our comfort be it spoken) of whose skill in the art of War the General had no great Opinion, and of which I can make no Judgment. But if *Lambert* intended to make a Rape upon the *Government*, as it was thought he did; he had not unqualified himself for it: For I never heard that he had listd himself into any Religious Faction; but being a *Latitudinarian* to all, he might with less opposition have ruled the Rost: Nay and even a Party then most odious did not despair of fair quarter from him.

This unhappy Captain fell sooner than the General once thought he would; because now the Kings Interest was become visible upon the Stage, and the Souldiers and under-Officers would soon have resorted to him as the Deliverer of their Country, had he not been thus timely suppressed. This piece of Service none could so luckily have performed as Colonel *Ingoldsby*; for he was both known and beloved in the Army, and had affection, as well as *Courage* to do it, as having been (though covertly) in *Booth's Conspiracy*.

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But whilst *Lambert* was thus in the Field, and threatned a War, the General sent for *Sir John Greenville*, and told him that if *Col. Ingoldsby* was beaten, and the Army so went over to follow *Lambert* that he could not be suppressed but by a War; Then he was resolved to put off his disguise, declare the Kings Commission, own it for the authority by which he acted, and Commission the royal Party into Arms in all places through *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*: Wherefore he required *Sir John* to attend him, and receive orders from him for his Majesties service.

But Providence had appointed the Kings Restauration to be without Blood; nay and some few of our Officers (for it was no publick combination) expressed their willingness to do it; making this overture to the General, that if he would undertake by his sole authority (as *Generalissimo* at Land and half a one by Sea) to restore the King, they promised their own assistance and undertook to promote this design farther in the Army, if he would give them leave to appear in it; they prudently alledging, that such a Course would be more for his honour, than to give way to a *Parliament* to do it, and then they might expect better terms, afterwards, for themselves. He knew the Men and their designs, and returned this answer; *That the Parliament which was to be, was called upon a*

Commonwealth-Accompt; and *if* did not, now at least, become Souldiers to meddle with the change of Government: for he would be true to his Declaration to keep the Military Power in obedience to the Civil: reminding them that themselves had promised to rest contented with what the Parliament should do touching Government. To this the Royal Party in and about the Town had also subscribed, testified their submission to the present Power, as it then resided in the Council of State, in expectation of the future Parliament; and promised to bury all rancors and animosities. This Declaration was by them published, with the subscriptions of several Noble Men and Gentlemen of eminent quality.

However Affairs now were in a fair procedure towards a National Settlement, yet there wanted not Agitators to disturb it; who went up and down in the City and Countrey to Spirit the Army into Discontent. Wherefore the Reward of 10 l. was published and promised for the Discovery of any one of them. But Agitators enow of this sort (as well Lay as Clergy) came to St. James's; Hugh Peters was of both Coats; for he had a portion of the Lord Craven's Lands, and feared a secular Restitution too. This Noble Lord, (Nobler now, being advanced to the Earldom of Craven,) had never fought against the Parliam. but from his

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Youth generously hazzarded his person, and spent his Estate in Foreign wars to the Honour of his Country; whom the General always honoured, and who succeeded him after his Death in the Command of the Regiment of the King's Guards, (my most Honourable and Noble Colonel.) And by what contrivance, or for what Delinquency his Estate was forfeited, is not an Enquiry proper for this place. But the General's Lady was so bold as to ask *Hugh Peters* if he was not for *Restitution*? The Ministers of *Independency* likewise were very solicitous to know what they must trust to, & disturb'd the hopes of the *Presbyterians*, by telling them that *Episcopacy* and *Arminianism* were com- in upon them.

'Twas my Portion to hear these things, being sometimes deputed to attend them: But I was an Infidel to all these Fears; for the General still adhered to a *Commonwealth*, and neither Jest nor Earnest could make any other Discovery of him: For once he was set upon in Jest by a late *Long-Parliament-Common-wealths-man*, who was good at it: He told the General, that he had always had a great esteem of him (I think he had once at a pinch happily served him) and asked him what he aimed at, a *King* or a *Commonwealth*? The General answered, you have known me a long time, and you know that I have been these many years

for a *Commonwealth*, and I am still of that opinion. He returned, I ought to believe your Excellency; but will you give me leave to tell you a Story; 'Twasthis; A City-Taylor was met one Evening in the Country with a *Pick-Axe* and *Spade*; a Neighbour of his asked him whether he was going with those Instruments? He answered, to take measure for a new Suit of Cloaths at such a House, and for such a person. His Neighbour demanded, what with a *Pick-Ax* and *Spade*? Yes, quoth the Tailor, these are the Measures now in fashion; so he left the Application to his Excellency, whether his new Models in the Army were fit Tools to make a *Commonwealth* with,

Nor could Monsieur *Bourdeaux* (then Resident Ambassador for *France*) gain any certainty of his Designs; though he made an attempt to dive into them: He sent for Commissary *Clargys*, and propounded the Assistance of Cardinal *Mazarine*, either to help the General to the Sovereignty, or to restore our King; adding his Advice, that the King might be desired to retire into *France*, and that speedy notice should be given him to leave *Flanders*, if the General aimed at his *Restitution*. But the General would not allow the Ambassador the liberty of this *Discourse* to him, though he refused him not a Visit, upon the Request of *Cler-*
gis.

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gis. The Story is at large related in *Baker's Chronicle*, pag. 717. Printed Anno 1674. whither I refer the Reader, because I knew nothing of it till I found it there.

The Parliament was now ready to sit down, and the King's Return was visible to the wise and discerning; provided that the General had not his Reserves to give a stop to it; for he still kept himself in a Cloud. Wherefore the prying and suspicious (of which sort were Women) found out little *Devices* to sound what were his Intentions, by giving small gifts to his Son (a Child then between six or seven years of age, the now Duke of *Albemarle*) who innocently told these busie Enquirers, that his Father and Mother in Bed had talk'd of the King's coming home. I dare promise that he shall not be so easily out-witted or surprized now; and I doubt not, but that he will be heir of his Fathers *Prudence*, as well as of his *Estate*: And may he live to out-do him in both! However I wish so; for I love and honour him, whose Education was sometimes committed to my Charge.

Though the Parliament were not met, yet all apprehensions of danger were already over: only a few Libels were thrown in the night at our Guards, against the King and his Party. Wherefore now we were entertained with *Feasting*, to which the Worthy Citizens of *London* did invite the General

General and his Officers; and it would be ungrateful not to mention their great and sumptuous Entertainments; *Thanks* being the proper Reward of *good Cheer*. These *Feasts* were performed in the publick Halls of the more Ancient Companies; where, (besides *Meat* and *Musick*) we had sometimes the *Sin-Songs* of more than *Ballade-Poets*, who hope yet for better things, than what they saw. At which some of the Officers would say, that they were *Beasts* set up a *fatting* for the *Slaughter*.

But now came the 25th of *April*, when both Houses of Parliament (the great Restorers of their Countrys freedom) set down. It was not disputed who call'd, and gave them this authority, but the most Rebellious submitted to it. Now it appeared that Gods) mercy which must be first revered, and eternized) then the Kings *Clemency*, the Generals *Conduct*, and this *Parliaments* sitting, had prevented our Officers fears, and the effusion of Blood, either by the Sword of *War* or of *Justice*: for none suffered upon the old score, those only excepted, who were after adjudged to Death for the Murder of *Charles* the First; (and some of these too had their Lives given them) unless I should add the further exemption of some few others; as *Mr. Henry Vane* (the very Son of his Father) and *Hugh Peters*, whose
 Guilt

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whose Guilt was thought greater than some of the greatest of the *Criminals*, who sate in a Court of *Mock-Justice*, upon the Life of their *Sovereign*.

The Parliament adjourned for some few days; & Sir *John Greenville* consulted with the General about the delivery of his message from his Majesty.

That which was superscribed to the General, to be by him communicated to the Army and *Council of State*, was by his appointment delivered to him at the Door of the *Council-Chamber*, where *Greenville* attended, and into which as *Col. Birch* (one of the Members of it) was entring, *Greenville* requested him (but unknown) that he might spake with My Lord General, who upon *Birch's* intimation came to the Door, and there in the sight of of his Guards, attending, received *Greenville's* Letters; but not with much regard, either to his *Person* or his *Business*; of which the General seemed to understand somewhat by the *Seal*, and asked him if he would stay there, till he had his answer, otherwise his Guards should secure him; commanding them to look to him. So his Excellency produceth his Letters to the *Council of State*; *Greenville* is sent for in, and *Birch* protested that he neither knew the Gentleman, nor his *Business*. The Lord President of the Council examined *Greenville* from whence those

those Letters came, whose they were, and how he come by them; for as yet they were not opened) he told the President, that the King his Master gave him them with his own hands at *Breda*. So the opening of them was deferred till the Parliament sat. *Greenvile* was to have been sent into Custody, but the General was his Bail, who said he knew the Gentleman, (being his near Kinsman) and would take his parol to appear before the Parliament.

But the *Monk's Hood* was now to be taken off: the Parliament sat, and *Greenvile* delivered his Letters, with inclosed Declarations to both Houses; upon whose owning his Majesties Right, the General, being a Member of the House of Commons, (chosen both for a *Knight* of the Shire of *Devon* his Country, and a *Burges* for the University of *Cambridg*) desired that the Kings Letters to him to be communicated to the *Council of State*, and the Army, might be read. The Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, and the *Common Council* received theirs (with inclosed Declarations from the King) and the *Fleet*, under the command of *Mountagne*, had theirs delivered them also from *Greenvile*. All these Letters and Declarations are extant, and well known, so that there is no need of a *Rehersal*, but one of them, which was the private concern of Sir *John Greenvile*, (of which I have before

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fore given the substance) I have asked leave here to insert ; that it might be better understood what sense the King had of his service in his negotiation with our General, and how grateful his Majesties intentions towards his Restorers were. The Letter (or rather *Warrant*) under the *Royal Signet* runs thus.

CHARLES R.

IN consideration of the many Services done us by our Right trusty and well-beloved Servant Sr. John Greenville (one of the Gentlemen of our Bed-Chamber) and his Father, the most Valiant and Loyal Sir Beville Greenville, who most Honourably lost his Life at the Battel of Landdown, in the Defence and Service of the Crown, against the Rebels, after he had performed many other great and signal Services.

But

But more especially in consideration of the late most extraordinary Services (never to be forgotten by us or our Posterity (which the said S. John Greenville hath lately rendred us in his Person (in his secret, prudent and most faithful Transactions and Negotiations, in concluding that most happy Treaty which he had lately, by our special Command and Commission, with our Famous and Renowned General Monk; and wherein he alone (and no other) was intrusted by Us, concerning the said Treaty, about those most important Affairs for our Restauration, which he has most faithfully performed with great prudence, care, secrecie and advantage for our Service, without any conditions imposed upon us beyond our expectation, and the Commission we gave

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gave him ; whereof we doubt not but,
by Gods blessing , we shall speedily see
the effects of our said happy Restauration.
We are graciously pleased to
promise , upon the Word of a King,
that as soon as we are arrived in England,
and it shall please God to restore us to our Crown of that Kingdom;
We will confer upon our said right
Trusty and well beloved Servant Sir
John Greenvile the place and office
of Groom of our Stole, and First Gentleman
of our Bedchamber (with all
Fees, Pensions, and Perquisites thereunto
belonging) together with the Title
and Dignity of an Earl of
our Kingdom of England : And
the better to support the said Title
of Honour, and to reward as we ought
those many great services , and to recompence
the losses and sufferings of
him

and his Family; we are further graciously pleased to promise upon our said Royal Word, to pay all the Debts that he the said Sir John Greenville, or his Father have contracted in the late Wars, in our service, or in our Royal Fathers of Blessed Memory; and also to bestow and settle, in good Land in England, an Estate of Inheritance to the value of at least 3000l. per annum, upon him the said Sir John Greenville, and his Heirs for ever; to remain as a perpetual acknowledgement for his said services; and as a Testimony of our Grace and Favour towards him, and that Ancient and Loyal Family of the Greenviles, unto all Posterity. Given at our Court at Brussels, the 2d of April, in the 12th year of our Reign 1660.

By his Majesties Command,

Edw. Nicholas:

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To conclude, on the 8th of *May*, the King was joyfully proclaimed in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and *Greenvile* having received the thanks of both Houses of *Parliament*, was sent back to his Majesty at the *Hague*, with 50000 l. Sterling from the *Parliament*; to supply his Majesties present occasions, till the arrivall of the *Commissioners* of both Houses, who were hastening after to invite his Majesties Return to his Native Kingdom, and to the exercise of his Royal Authority. So that on the 29th his Majesty with great Solemnity entered the City. This Day has since 1660 been solemnized by our Church, for his Birth and Return: and may the Prayers of his Loyal Subjects, for him, ascend, and be heard by the God of Heaven; who bowed the Hearts of the most rebellious among us to submit to his Scepter. Of this the General was truly sensible: for when I came to him at the *Cock-Pit* to give him my share of thanks, for this renowned Restauration, I kneeled to him and kissed his hands; but he took me up and was pleased to speak some kind words to me; but in speaking broke into Tears, saying these words. No Mr. Price, It was not I that did this; you know the Jealousies that were had of me, and the oppositions against me; It was God alone who did it; to him be the Glory, whose is the Kingdom and the Power, over this and all Govern-

M ments.

ments. But to disturb all this, there was an *After-contrivance* framed, and propounded to the General, viz. that he would most vigorously declare for the *Solemn League and Covenant*: to do this, there were invitations of Advantages offered him. But he was Resolute, and saw that he had deceived all those with whom he had to do, and had gratified none of them; and that it was now too late to play an *After-game*, by attempting to impose conditions upon his Prince: He having before, when it was in his power scorned it; & Now he was to sink or swim with the King, for his Interest was no wider. These bold words were said, not for his sake, but others; for this his Loyalty was most truly fixed, and he was glad that he was delivered from the Impertinencies of the Solicitation of such People. *May God of his infinite mercy deliver us from all narrow Interests, which, in our Age, have been the ruine of a most famous Commonwealth, left us by the wisdom our Ancestors: And may the Men of private conceits unite, and bring their hands and hearts to the support of the publick, for Extra Rempubicam non est salus.*

T H E E N D

Some *BOOKS* lately Published by *James Vade*, at the *Cock and Sugar-Loaf*, near *St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-Street*.

TH E *Sovereign*; or a Political Discourse upon the Office and Obligations of the *Supream Magistrate*.

The *State and Interest* of the Nation, with respect to his Royal Highness the Duke of *Tork*; Discourfed at large in a Letter to a *Member* of the Honourable House of *Commons*

The True *Protestant Subject*; or the Nature and Rights of *Sovereignty* discussed and stated.

A *Brief Survey* (Historical and Political) of the Life and Reign of *Henry the Third*, King of *Englan*.

A *Seasonable Memento*; both to King and People, upon this *Critical Juncture* of Affairs.

A *Survey* of the *Lord High Steward* of *England*, his Office, Dignity and Jurisdiction; particularly the manner of Arraining a *Peer* Indicted of *Treason* or *Felony*; in a Letter to the Lords in the *Tower*. With *Resolutions* to certain *Queries*, made by their Lordships relating to Trayterous and Seditious *Practises*. Written at their Lordships Request.

The *Power* of the *Lords and Commons* in *Parliament*, in Point of *Judicature*, briefly discourf'd; at the request of a worthy Member of the *House of Commons*,

The late *Keepers* of the *English Liberties*,
drawn to the *Life*; in the *Qualifications* of
Persons by them declared capable to serve in
Parliament.

Naboth's Vineyard: Or the *Innocent Tray-*
tor; copyed from the *Original* of *Holy Scrip-*
ture, in *Heroick Verse*.

The *Sentiments*, a *Poem* to the *Earl of Dan-*
by: *Written* by a *Person* of *quality*.

A *Paradox* against *Liberty*; *Written* by
the *Lords*, during their *Imprisonment* in the
Tower.

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